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FBIS-SOV-93-074 CONTENTS *20 April 1993*

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Nazarbayev Views Minsk Summit, Supports Russian Reforms *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
CIS, FRG Military Aides Confer in Moscow *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Apr]* 1
Concern Over Ukrainian Nuclear Forces *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
Ukrainian Moves on Black Sea Fleet Assessed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 Apr]* 1
Baltic Naval Delegation Visits Germany *[Riga Radio]* 2
ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 20 Apr 2

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Bulgarian Prime Minister Arrives in Moscow *[ITAR-TASS]* 4
Kozyrev Says Ties 'Very Good' *[ITAR-TASS]* 4
Meeting With Chernomyrdin *[ITAR-TASS]* 4
Cooperation Documents Signed *[ITAR-TASS]* 4
Interior Ministers Discuss Crime *[ITAR-TASS]* 5
Kozyrev Rejects Linkage of Aid, Serbia Policy
[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU 16 Apr] 5
Churkin Suggests Serbs Ask For 'Minimal Changes' To Map *[Belgrade TANJUG]* 5
Parliamentary Delegation Visits Yugoslav Assembly *[ITAR-TASS]* 6
Joint Exercise To Be Held With U.S. National Guard *[ITAR-TASS]* 6
Secret Radar Factory Opens to U.S. Congressmen *[Moscow TV]* 6
Parliamentary Factions Oppose START II Ratification *[ITAR-TASS]* 7
Foreign Ministry Spokesman Holds 16 Apr Briefing 7
Condemns Hungarian Envoy's Comments *[ITAR-TASS]* 7
Denies Territorial Issue With Finland *[ITAR-TASS]* 7
Views Relations With Latvia *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
Visa Requirement Introduced for Latvians, Estonians *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
Naval Officers Comment on Ukraine Moves, Black Sea Fleet 8
Navy Commander Cited *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Apr]* 8
Deputy Commander on 'Nationalist Hysteria' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Apr]* 9
New Commander of Tajik Border Troops Named *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
Japanese Foreign Minister Links Bilateral Aid to Kurils *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
PRC Navy Commander Visits St. Petersburg *[Moscow International]* 10
Delegation Ends Visit *[Russian TV]* 10
Talks With China on Border, Economic Problems *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 17 Apr]* 10
Shakhray Meets Swedish Foreign Minister in Moscow *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Official Interviewed on New Passport Regulations *[Moscow TV]* 11

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political Issues

Yeltsin Meets With Trade Union Representatives 14
Unions Express Support *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
Further on Union Meeting *[Radio Rossii]* 14
Kozyrev Predicts 'Hot War' if Yeltsin Loses Referendum *[Russian TV]* 14
Yeltsin Should Form Own Party *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
Yeltsin Orders Check of Rutskoy Corruption Charges *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
Rutskoy Says Yeltsin's Reforms Will End Soon *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
Chubays Attacks 'Blatant Lies' in Rutskoy's Speech *[IZVESTIYA 20 Apr]* 15
Poltoranin To Sue Rutskoy for 10 Million Rubles *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 20 Apr]* 16

Government Meeting Postponed to 29 Apr *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
Filatov Interviewed on Political Situation *[Warsaw Radio]* 16
'Ironic' Reaction to Yeltsin Speech Noted *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 17 Apr]* 18
Vice Premier Shumeyko's TV Appearance Criticized *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 15 Apr]* 18

Referendum Issues

Constitutional Court Examines Referendum Issues *[Russian TV]* 19
Police To Guard Polling Stations During Referendum *[ITAR-TASS]* 19
Filatov Believes Congress To Meet After Referendum *[Radio Rossii]* 19
Parliament Said To Have Decree on Referendum Results *[IZVESTIYA 15 Apr]* 20
Referendum Preparations Marred by Cash Shortages *[ITAR-TASS]* 20
Gaydar Advocates Ignoring Second Question of Referendum *[SEGODNYA 20 Apr]* 21
Expected Referendum Turnout 'Leaves Much To Be Desired' *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 20 Apr]* . 21
Democratic Observers May Be Barred From Polling Stations
[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 20 Apr] 21
Democratic Party Opposes Referendum Street Rallies *[ITAR-TASS]* 21
'Democratic Choice' Appeals to Yeltsin About Blackmail *[IZVESTIYA 16 Apr]* 22
Party, Faction Leaders Discuss Referendum Issues *[Russian TV]* 22
Further Referendum Discussion *[Russian TV]* 23
More Leaders Discuss Referendum *[Russian TV]* 24
Muscovites Polled on Referendum Questions *[KURANTY 17 Apr]* 25

Economic Issues

Chubays May Resign Over Privatization Issue *[ITAR-TASS]* 26
Rutskoy, Gaydar Assess Economic Progress, Future *[Radio Rossii]* 27
Yeltsin Encourages Young Workers To Have Children *[ITAR-TASS]* 28
Voronin Envisages Administrative Steps To Cure Economy *[ITAR-TASS]* 28
Yeltsin Edict on Oil Price Regularization Published *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 16 Apr]* 28
Coal Industry To Be Declared Priority Sector *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 17 Apr]* 28
Gasoline Price 'Game' Linked to Referendum *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 16 Apr]* 29
Chernomyrdin Addresses Anti-Monopoly Committee Officials *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 14 Apr]* ... 30
Economist Views Inflation; Money Emission *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
Intelligence Service Rejects 'Yeltsingate' Charge *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
New Decree Seen as Drastic Departure From Reform *[SEGODNYA 20 Apr]* 32
'Shared Concern' Prompts State, Private Sector Alliance *[IZVESTIYA 10 Apr]* 32
Relevance of Market Forces to Reform Doubted *[IZVESTIYA 10 Apr]* 33

Supreme Soviet

Decree Outlines Regulations for Referendum Campaign *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 20 Apr]* 34
Parliament's Role in Leaflets' Publication Questioned *[IZVESTIYA 17 Apr]* 35
Republic Council Adds Mordovia Decree to Agenda *[ITAR-TASS]* 35
Khasbulatov on Personal Public Image, Yeltsin's Style *[Moscow TV]* 36
Khasbulatov Views Army, Economy, Politics *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Apr]* 37
Abdulatipov on Political Crisis, Referendum *[PRAVDA 16 Apr]* 40

Regional Affairs

Khasbulatov Working Visits to Regions Continues 43
Speaks in St. Petersburg *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 17 Apr]* 43
Meets Voronezh Enterprise Leaders *[Radio Rossii]* 49
Defines Essence of 'Political Crisis' *[ITAR-TASS]* 49
Warns of Referendum 'Dirty Tricks' *[Radio Rossii]* 50
Calls For Upholding Constitution *[ITAR-TASS]* 50
Shumeyko on Official Visit to Buryatia 50
Urges Support for Yeltsin *[ITAR-TASS]* 50
Referendum Will Determine Reforms *[Radio Rossii]* 50
Shumeyko Visits St. Petersburg 19 Apr 50
Stabilization Has Begun *[ITAR-TASS]* 50

Outlines Directions of Reforms *[ITAR-TASS]* 51
Sobchak Comments on Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 51
Further on Shokhin Visits to Far East 51
Kamchatka Visit Criticized *[Vladivostok Radio]* 51
Discusses China in Maritime Kray *[Radio Rossii]* 52
Continues Tour in Khabarovsk *[ITAR-TASS]* 52
Grachev in Vladivostok, Departs for Russkiy Island *[ITAR-TASS]* 52
Cited on Fleets, Referendum *[ITAR-TASS]* 52
Chechen Parliament Defies Dudayev; Armed Struggle Looms *[ITAR-TASS]* 53
Opposing Groups Rally in Groznyy *[ITAR-TASS]* 53
Dudayev Assails Opponents *[Radio Rossii]* 53
Commentary Views Dudayev Decision *[Moscow TV]* 54
N. Ossetia-Ingushetia Situation 'Extremely Complex' *[ITAR-TASS]* 54
Shooting Heard in Emergency Zone *[ITAR-TASS]* 54
Situation Remains 'Tense' *[ITAR-TASS]* 55
Army Reinforces North Caucasian Military District *[ITAR-TASS]* 55
Chubays: Chelyabinsk Privatization Ban 'Political Trick'
[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 16 Apr] 55
Mordovia Protests Yeltsin Edict as Unconstitutional *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 15 Apr]* 56

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Kravchuk Discusses Results of Minsk CIS Summit *[Kiev International]* 58
Party Leader Says Guarantees Needed Before Disarming *[Kiev International]* 58
Ukrainian Killed in Sarajevo; Ship Detained *[Russian TV]* 58
Zlenko Letter to UN Protests Death *[UKRINFORM]* 58
Government Wants UN Consideration as Less Developed State *[ITAR-TASS]* 59
Crimea Asks Russia, Ukraine To Reaffirm Black Sea Fleet Accord
[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 16 Apr] 59
Foreign Minister Arrives in Rome for Official Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 60
Meets President, Pope *[ITAR-TASS]* 60
Parliamentary Delegation Concludes Visit to PRC *[ITAR-TASS]* 60
Plyushch Views Visit's Results *[Kiev International]* 61
Kuchma Visits Kuwait, Establishes Diplomatic Relations *[ITAR-TASS]* 61
Kuchma, Delegation Arrive in UAE for Two-Day Visit *[Kiev International]* 61
Government Signs New Economic Agreements With Hungary *[Budapest Radio]* 61
Government Leaders Pay Condolences to Turkey on Ozal's Death *[Kiev International]* 61

National Affairs

Supreme Soviet Chairman Plyushch Interviewed *[KYYIVSKA PRAVDA 6 Apr]* 62
Decree Appoints Defense, Mobilization Department Head *[URYADOVYY KURYER 13 Apr]* 64
New Border, Customs Procedures Introduced at Airports
[DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA 13 Apr] 64

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Kravchenko, Christopher Discuss Nuclear Policy, Aid *[ITAR-TASS]* 65
U.S. Experts To Supervise Dismantling of MiG Aircraft *[ZVYAZDA 1 Apr]* 65
Shushkevich Answers Questions on CIS, Security Treaty *[Minsk TV]* 65
Council of Ministers Outlines Industrial Reform Plan *[Minsk Radio]* 66
Demonstrators Demand Government's 'Immediate' Resignation *[BELINFORM]* 66
Servicemen Association Chairman Comments on Military *[DOBRY VECHAR 2 Apr]* 66

Moldova

Snegur Views Russian Role in Dniester, Links To Romania *[Radio Rossii]* 69

Moscow Offers Tiraspol Residents Russian Citizenship *[BASAPRESS]* 69
Moscow Continues Cash Deliveries to Dniester *[BASAPRESS]* 69
Russian Envoy to Chisinau Views Bilateral Relations *[BASAPRESS]* 70
General Lebed Comments on 14th Army Withdrawal *[BASAPRESS]* 70
Foreign Ministry Official Views 14th Army Withdrawal *[BASAPRESS]* 70

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Expresses Condolences Over Ozal's Death *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 71
Leaves for Funeral in Turkey *[ITAR-TASS]* 71
Cabinet Discusses Country's 'Economic Chaos' *[KAZTAG]* 71
Supreme Soviet Closing Session Held 15 Apr *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 72
Nazarbayev Decree on Opening Embassies Abroad *[KAZTAG]* 72

Kyrgyzstan

Parliament Postpones Introduction of National Currency *[ITAR-TASS]* 72
President Arrives in Tokyo on Official Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 73
Iranian Culture Minister Holds Talks With Officials *[Tehran IRNA]* 73

Tajikistan

Supreme Soviet Issues Decree on Military Service *[ITAR-TASS]* 73
Government Concerned Over Emigration of Russian-Speakers *[ITAR-TASS]* 73

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Defense Spokesman Says Turkey Shipping Arms, Troops to Azerbaijan *[Yerevan International]* .. 75
Turkish Ambassador Denies Turkey Supplying Weapons *[SNARK]* 75
President Sends Condolences to Turkey on Ozal's Death *[Yerevan Radio]* 75
Vice President Visits Uruguay 12-13 Apr *[Yerevan Radio]* 75
Diplomatic Relations Established With Chile *[SNARK]* 76

Azerbaijan

Envoy to U.S. Meets Clinton, Receives Letter for Elchibey *[TURAN]* 76
2-Day Cease-Fire Declared in Response to CSCE Request *[Ankara TV]* 76
Gasymov Approves UN Draft Resolution on Karabakh Conflict *[Baku Radio]* 76
Elchibey Receives CSCE Delegation, Seeks Settlement With Armenia *[ITAR-TASS]* 77
Turkey Sends Humanitarian Aid to Baku, Nakhichevan
[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 17 Apr] 77
President's Office Denies Receiving Turkish Military Aid *[Moscow Radio]* 77
Foreign Minister Comments on Iranian, Turkish Aid *[London TV]* 77
Elchibey: Ozal's Death 'Great Loss' for Turkey, Azerbaijan *[Moscow International]* 77
To Attend Funeral *[TURAN]* 77
Gasymov Views Russia's Efforts To Stop Conflict *[TURAN]* 78
Russian Proposal on Troops in Kelbadzharskiy Said Rejected *[TURAN]* 78
Interior Minister Submits Resignation *[TURAN]* 78
Elchibey Names Replacement *[Baku Radio]* 78
Former Chief of Staff Arrested for Military 'Failures' *[Moscow TV]* 78
Nakhichevan's Aliyev Discusses Conflict, Issues *[Istanbul MILLIYET 11 Apr]* 78
Visiting Swiss Finance Minister, Businessmen Discuss Grants *[TURAN]* 79

Georgia

Foreign Minister Meets U.S. Ambassador *[Tbilisi Radio]* 79
Shevardnadze Urges Moscow To Upgrade Ties, Hold Summit
[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 18 Apr] 79
Shevardnadze Calls Yeltsin's 'Incorrect Information' 'Dangerous' *[Tbilisi Radio]* 80
Shevardnadze Criticizes Russian Support for Abkhazia *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 17 Apr]* 81
Shevardnadze Plans To Meet Yeltsin After Referendum *[ITAR-TASS]* 81
Shevardnadze Interviewed on Ties With Israel, Russia *[Tel Aviv HADASHOT 16 Apr]* 82
Parliament Disgruntled Over Alleged Concessions to Russia
[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 17 Apr] 83
Security Council Meets To Discuss Abkhazian Situation *[ITAR-TASS]* 84
Chikvaydze Meets PRC Envoy, Views Shevardnadze's 2-4 Jun Visit
[CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY] 84
S. Ossetian Leadership Denies 'Aggressive Intentions' *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 15 Apr]* 84

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Russian Television Broadcasts To Cease *[Radio Rossii]* 85
Iranian Ambassador Presents Credentials *[ETA NEWS RELEASE]* 85

Latvia

Foreign Minister Urges Action To End Bosnia Fighting *[Riga Radio]* 85
Foreign Minister Discusses Policy Goals *[ITAR-TASS]* 85
Russian Side Submits Baltic Fleet Withdrawal Schedule *[Riga Radio]* 86

Lithuania

Brazauskas Returns From UK Visit, Holds News Conference *[Vilnius Radio]* 86
Defense Minister Views Meeting with Russia's Grachev *[Vilnius Radio]* 86
Denies Plans for Military Union *[ITAR-TASS]* 87
Government Issues Statement on Economic Decline *[Vilnius International]* 87
Democratic Labor Party Holds Congress in Vilnius 87
Brazauskas Speaks *[Vilnius Radio]* 87
Slezevicius Elected Chairman *[Vilnius Radio]* 88
Leaders Hold News Conference *[Vilnius Radio]* 88
Opposition Says Government Threatens Democracy *[BNS]* 89
German Environment Ministry Delegation Visits *[Vilnius Radio]* 89
Minister on Nuclear Safety *[Hamburg DPA]* 89
Ignalina Nuclear Reactor To Close for Maintenance *[Vilnius Radio]* 90
Diplomatic Relations Established with Thailand *[Vilnius International]* 90

Nazarbayev Views Minsk Summit, Supports Russian Reforms

LD1704104093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1024 GMT 17 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Gvirtishvili]

[Text] Moscow April 17 TASS - Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who stopped in Moscow on the way from Minsk, came out for the continuation of the course of democratic reforms in Russia, with the "popularly-elected president being a guarantor of the implementation of reforms."

During a news conference held here today the Kazakh president expressed the hope that electors would make the right choice at the 25 April referendum and continue the course of democratic transformations in the country. At the same time Nazarbayev pointed out that "Russia had taken such long strides in the reformation of the economy that no matter who will be in power, he will be unable to reverse the reforms."

Commenting of the results of the extraordinary CIS summit which ended in Minsk on Friday, Nazarbayev said that one of its main results is "the growing understanding by a majority of its participants, including Ukraine, that it is necessary to create a single economic space on the territory of the CIS and put a single national currency into circulation in order to make mutual payments, which by no means infringes on the sovereignty of each of the Commonwealth member-states."

As an example, Nazarbayev referred to integrations processes in West European countries. In his opinion, "some CIS member-states have raised the idea of sovereignty to a level of absolute, forgetting about a normal market." Nazarbayev believes that countries which signed the CIS charter yesterday, should form the nucleus of the Commonwealth, exclusively on a voluntary basis, and come down to the realization of the idea of establishing a single economic space.

Touching upon Russo-Kazakh relations, Nazarbayev described close cooperation between the two countries as "strategic and important for the CIS future." In this connection, he expressed a surprise at Russia's introducing border and customs barriers on the border with Kazakhstan, "which is of detriment to the economy of both countries." Nazarbayev voiced doubt that billions of credits promised by the West one of these days would arrive in Russia, saying that earlier, such promised had never been fulfilled. In Nazarbayev's opinion, Russia, like other CIS countries, should primarily count on its own internal resources and try to stabilise the economy by developing closer cooperation between the Commonwealth member-states.

CIS, FRG Military Aides Confer in Moscow

PM1904112393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Apr 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under "Official News" rubric]

[Text] A meeting was held 14 April between Lieutenant General V. Krivonogikh, chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Staff, and Vice Admiral U. Weisser, chief of the FRG Ministry of Defense Planning Staff. It was organized within the framework of the visit to the Russian Federation of FRG Defense Minister V. Ruehe.

Main attention during the meeting was devoted to problems connected with ensuring the effectiveness of centralized control over strategic nuclear forces within the CIS and the search for ways of jointly maintaining security and stability in Europe.

Concern Over Ukrainian Nuclear Forces

LD1404224293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1145 GMT 14 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Apr—The nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory are under the control of the CIS joint armed forces supreme command. The Supreme Command has an interest in these weapons being under Russian control, as the Lisbon protocol indicates.

A Bundeswehr delegation was informed of this today at the CIS Joint Armed Forces headquarters by Lieutenant General Vladimir Krivonogykh, first deputy chief of staff of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. "We share the concern of our German colleagues as regards the fact that Ukraine has not yet formulated a final position in relation to the strategic nuclear forces," he told an ITAR-TASS correspondent.

According to the Lisbon Protocol, Ukraine, as well as Belarus and Kazakhstan, has declared its non-nuclear status. "One would like to hope," General Krivonogykh noted, "that Ukraine will go along the non-nuclear path."

Replying to an ITAR-TASS correspondent's question about the practical results of the meeting in the supreme command, Gen. Krivonogykh stressed that an agreement has been reached on the mutual exchange of FRG and CIS military delegations and servicemen through military institutes, and on extending contacts with the CIS joint armed forces staff.

Ukrainian Moves on Black Sea Fleet Assessed

PM1504120593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Apr 93 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Maryukha under the "Events and Commentaries" rubric: "'Black Sea Fleet Considered Nonexistent.' This Is the Essence of Orders Issued by Ukrainian Defense Minister Depriving the Black Sea Fleet of Its Shore Infrastructure"]

[Text] The world community has not yet reacted in any way to the statement made at the Ukrainian Officers Union Congress by republic Defense Minister Colonel General Konstantin Morozov, the contents of which boil down to Ukraine's reneging on its own declared decision to rid itself of nuclear weapons. However, the U.S. position on this issue is well known: Building U.S.-Ukrainian relations will depend on how quickly Ukraine accedes to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, with the status of a nonnuclear state. Commentaries on the position of Ukraine, which does not wish to part with its nuclear button for some time to come, and on possible economic sanctions are still to be awaited. Far more ticklish at the present time is the issue of the future of the Black Sea Fleet.

The Russian Navy Main Command, according to the fleet press center, has resolutely rejected raising the question of the Black Sea Fleet's future as interpreted by the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. Let me remind readers that Konstantin Morozov's statement contains a demand that the fleet be divided up immediately and the Russian part of it be withdrawn from Ukrainian territory.

The Russian Federation Navy Press Center reports that such statements cannot be regarded as anything but provocation. In addition to the statements there are also specific actions. Thus under Ukrainian Defense Minister's Order No. 65 of 8 April 1993, Captain First Rank Nikolay Kostrov, first deputy commander in chief of Ukrainian Naval Forces, has been appointed chief of the garrison at Sevastopol. It has been suggested to the Odessa Military District commander that garrison chiefs be appointed in other cities of the Black Sea region and Black Sea Fleet bases.

But without shore supplies a fleet is no longer a fleet but a set of steel hulks condemned to a slow death. Moreover, Russia currently has nowhere to withdraw "its" part of the Black Sea Fleet to, and the "division" of the fleet is slated for 1995 at the earliest. Realization of this fact, it seems, is prompting the Ukrainian Defense Ministry to whip up passions in this way in the hope of "grabbing" a bit more of the fleet. Its own naval forces are patently inadequate, Kiev believes, especially as their strength will be decreased by one ship: According to an ITAR-TASS report, Patrol Boat No. 112, which "absconded" last year under the Ukrainian flag, will soon be glorified as the "Ukrainian Avrora." The patrol boat, which is due to be scrapped, will be dispatched to a permanent mooring in Kiev.

Baltic Naval Delegation Visits Germany

LD1804195593 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Interview with Naval Captain Gaidis Zeibots, commander of Latvian Naval Forces, by correspondent Janis Podins, in Riga on 18 April—recorded]

[Text] [Podins] A delegation of representatives of the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonia naval forces returned to Riga from Germany on Sunday. I am asking Captain Gaidis Zeibots, commander of the naval forces of the Republic of Latvia, to inform us about what was achieved during the visit.

[Zeibots] The three days which we spent both in Hamburg and also in Bremen were very pleasant and, on the other hand, very important for us, because really, this time the delegations of the three republics were dealing with concrete matters, with concrete planning in order for us to ensure sea border protection of all three republics.

[Podins] NATO exercises, in which Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian naval forces will participate, are expected to take place in the Baltic Sea this summer, in June. Perhaps you were also solving these issues? It is no secret that neither Latvia nor Lithuania nor Estonia has forces which would allow them to take part in these exercises with honor, although it is true that Germany has given Latvia five ships as a gift. However, they are still in Germany.

[Zeibots] Here I must say that the Lithuanians already have a ship and it is a proper ship which will participate in the exercises and, according to what we discussed in Germany, it is ready for that. But it is true that we discussed this issue. This was a very serious topic for discussion for our delegation. An agreement was reached there that the German side will help us.

[Podins] When will these ships given to us by Germany arrive in Riga or in Liepaja?

[Zeibots] We did not meet people or organizations who take decisions on delivery of these ships or handing them over to Latvia at a specific time. It is difficult to give, let us say, a specific time when it will take place. But those firms with which we deal are interested in cooperation with us and they will be the firms which will be preparing this ship [as heard] to enable it to participate in the exercises. Therefore I think that there will be considerable help from that side in order for this process to go faster.

[Podins] In what spheres will the naval forces of the three Baltic states cooperate in the future?

[Zeibots] I think that we were continuing to work out joint concepts in the main spheres even during the visit to Germany. Here, too, our German colleagues told us quite a lot; they told us in what direction we should work. Then, it seems to me that we will still continue to work together until (?this) evening and also that (?the type) of concept which we adopted before will change slightly [words indistinct].

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 20 Apr

LD2004065393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0533 GMT 20 Apr 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—The forthcoming all-Russia referendum of April 25 still remains the central

subject of discussion in newspapers. The press emphasises that political struggle on the referendum's eve has intensified and reports the opinions of politicians, public figures, writers and journalists about the internal political situation on the eve of the plebiscite.

"Our society, including people in power, have to a certain extent lost their bearings after political battles, congresses and vociferous rallies," prominent writer and publicist Daniil Granin points out in the newspaper TRUD.

"Who can now say with this or that degree of confidence whether our legislative power, the president or the government enjoy due prestige?" he queries.

The writer views the forthcoming referendum first of all as an attempt to study the public opinion, realise and assess sentiments in society. Granin is convinced that the referendum should show how realistic now is a threat of reversion to the times of totalitarianism.

"Confrontation between the sides grows keener," writes KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star). "Last Sunday the Orthodox believers celebrated Easter—a bright and peace-inspiring holiday. But the latest and current developments patently show that we still cannot live according to our beliefs and that at present it is exclusively political cataclysms that determine the state of affairs in society. The voices of speakers with loudhailers at rallies so far still sound louder than the chimes of church bells," the newspaper observes.

Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy intends to answer the referendum's second question in the negative because he "basically" disagrees with the current reform policy. During a phone-in session of answers to questions from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA readers, Rutskoy also stated an intention to answer the third question (about an early election of a president—note by ITAR-TASS) in the affirmative.

At the same time the vice-president reaffirmed his loyalty to Boris Yeltsin, emphasising his respect for him and pointing out that the president's courage and resoluteness appeal to him.

"On April 25, one has to finally decide for oneself whether we shall continue to play up to 'non-alternative' politicians who are capable of changing their convictions three times a day or we begin to live a decent life," he emphasised.

Describing his attitude to economic reform as a whole, Rutskoy said he favours "market-determined relations but only civilised and socially-oriented ones". "I am for every person to enjoy political and economic freedoms and be able to live a decent life, have property and means for living," the vice-president said.

The population's activity on the referendum's eve continues to decline, notes ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, newspaper of the Russian parliament. The newspaper gives the findings of a sociological survey carried out at its request in Nizhny Novgorod region on April 15-16, according to which only 54 per cent of respondents intend to take part in the referendum. Young people are the least active in this respect.

"If this trend continues on the referendum date, it may adversely affect the plebiscite outcome, since it is precisely this age group that expresses the greatest support for the incumbent president," ROSIYSKAYA GAZETA points out.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries Vice-President Rutskoy's remarks in the Russian parliament on the efforts to combat corruption and crime.

The same newspaper, under the "parliamentary diary" rubric, carries notes by Russian People's Deputy Vladimir Isakov setting out his estimates of the political situation in the country on the threshold of the referendum.

Bulgarian Prime Minister Arrives in Moscow

LD1904084693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0832 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, Lyuben Berov, has arrived on an official visit in Moscow today.

During the visit a number of documents on Russia-Bulgarian cooperation in different spheres will be signed.

Berov is expected to meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

Kozyrev Says Ties 'Very Good'

LD1904150793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1425 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev assessed Russian-Bulgarian relations after a meeting with Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov as "very good". Berov arrived in Moscow on an official visit on Monday.

"Our approaches to the evaluation of the situation in the Balkans and the dynamics of its development are very close," Kozyrev said. In his view, "one may speak about traditional Russian-Bulgarian partnership" in many issues.

Berov shared the opinion. "The interests of our two countries in the Balkans coincide at present," he stated. He voiced hope that the documents that will be signed during his visit to Moscow will further strengthen relations between Russia and Bulgaria, including in trade and economic field.

Meeting With Chernomyrdin

LD1904162193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1457 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Russian-Bulgarian inter-governmental talks ended here today. The two countries' delegations were headed by Prime Ministers Viktor Chernomyrdin and Lyuben Berov.

Responding to journalists' questions after the end of the almost two-hour talks, Chernomyrdin said a wide range of economic and political issues were discussed. Specifically, the delegations discussed the development of direct contacts between the two countries' enterprises and regions. Not only the Russian and Bulgarian Governments but also "fraternal, friendly relations that formed between our countries" act as a guarantor of the development of these ties, Chernomyrdin said.

Berov noted, in turn, that "a very useful and frank dialogue attended with the open desire by both sides to find suitable and fair solutions to all problems raised" took place.

He said the sides discussed issues related to reciprocal trade turnover, the transportation of exports and imports, the operation of joint banks that existed along the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA) line, the supply of spare parts and ammunition from Russia to Bulgaria, "which are necessary for our Army in the present-day complex situation in the Balkans." Berov noted that in fulfilling these supplies "Bulgaria could play better its stabilising role in the Balkans."

Asked how the Russian Government reacts to the demands by some Bulgarian political forces to dismantle the monument to the Soviet Army in Sofia, Chernomyrdin emphasised that "it is far from being a simple issue for the Russian people as the memory about all those who perished in the Second World War is too dear to us." He pronounced in favour of solving this issue "by civilised methods."

Three Russian-Bulgarian documents are expected to be signed upon the results of the talks this evening: The ratification protocol to the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1992, an agreement on cooperation in the field of education, science and culture and a protocol on cooperation of the two countries' law enforcement agencies.

Cooperation Documents Signed

LD1904192793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1820 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—The intergovernmental negotiations between Russia and Bulgaria, which were held in Moscow, culminated in signing a number of documents on strengthening relations and cooperation between the two countries. The two delegations were headed by Russian Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin and his Bulgarian counterpart Lyuben Berov.

The two sides signed a protocol on exchange of ratification deeds to the treaty of friendly relations and cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Bulgaria which was concluded during the visit to Bulgaria by President Boris Yeltsin in August 1992.

An agreement on cooperation in the spheres of education, science and culture and a protocol on cooperation between law-protection bodies of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Bulgaria were also signed.

Interior Ministers Discuss Crime

LD1904191293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1821 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Russian Interior Minister Viktor Yerin, who held a meeting with his Bulgarian counterpart Viktor Mikhaylov, discussed the crime situation in Russia and Bulgaria and the fight of the Interior Ministry bodies against drug traffic and organized crimes.

Heads of law enforcement departments spoke in favour of active exchange of experience gained in fighting against crime. They also chalked out concrete measures on interactions between the concerned bodies of the two countries.

Heads of units fighting against organised crime also participated in the meeting.

Kozyrev Rejects Linkage of Aid, Serbia Policy

AU1604141493 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 16 Apr 93 p 2

["tst." report: "Moscow Rejects Kinkel's Wish"]

[Excerpt] Tokyo, 15 April—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev rejected Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel's request that Moscow reconsider its attitude toward Serbia in exchange for Western help. In a talk with Kinkel on the sidelines of the G-7 meeting in Tokyo, Kozyrev said that his country insists on an independent foreign policy and defines its relationship with Serbia independently of the Western states.

"We are still an important country with great capabilities," Kozyrev said. On 14 April at the G-7 summit in Tokyo, Kinkel had said that the G-7 would expect cooperation in this question. So far, Russia has prevented any tightening of the sanctions against the rest of Yugoslavia in the Security Council.

Russia is "the locomotive" among the states of the former Soviet Union, so therefore the economic aid resolved in Tokyo also benefits the other countries, Kozyrev said. He demanded that the world must not forget the military conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh and Afghanistan: "The Cold War must not change into a hot peace." [passage omitted]

Churkin Suggests Serbs Ask For 'Minimal Changes' To Map

LD1904201093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1932 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, April 19 (TANJUG) - Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin on Monday suggested that Serbs in Bosnia- Herzegovina formulate 'minimal changes' to the map on the division of the former Yugoslav republic drafted by international mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen.

Speaking at a press conference in Moscow, Churkin, who is also the special Russian envoy to the Bosnia-Herzegovina peace talks, mentioned the possibility of adding a corridor in the map to link the Serb-populated provinces in the republic with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The corridor would be under United Nations (U.N.) control and it would be secured by peace-keepers from Russia, Churkin elaborated.

The Russian diplomat said that the map could be corrected, but only slightly, because Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in particular, were opposed to going back to the talks on the division of the republic into provinces.

Noting that Russia had its priorities and that it would not enter into confrontation with the international community if no agreement was reached on the map, Churkin advised the Serb side unconditionally to sign the plan proposed by co-chairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia Vance and Lord Owen.

Serbs should make the most difficult, but the only possible decision, the Russian diplomat said. They should show political wisdom and sign the part of the plan on the map because it is their only option, and if they do not do so, Serbs will suffer defeat and a national tragedy, he said.

Churkin could not explain how it was possible that a nation was being threatened with extermination if it did not bend to dictates of those who deal out justice in the world today according to their own standards and criteria.

Answering the question why sanctions were being applied against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia if it was not a party in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Churkin said that Moscow made a difference between Serbs in Yugoslavia and Serbs in Bosnia, but that others did not.

According to Churkin, the international public had been led to believe that Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina could not wage war without the support of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Certain news media in the world were often unobjective to the detriment of the Serb side and all of this might not have happened if the international media had not behaved like this, he said.

Churkin said that Moscow was absolutely against any foreign armed interference, but added that if there was full-scale war in the Balkans, it would lead to such a situation that further democratic developments in Russia would be affected.

Churkin concluded that U.N. Security Council Resolution 820 on tightening sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia could have an opposite effect than the desired one. Russia and China abstained during the vote on this resolution in New York on Sunday morning.

Parliamentary Delegation Visits Yugoslav Assembly

LD1904204393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1953 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade April 19 TASS—The delegation from the Russian Supreme Soviet visited the Federal Assembly (Parliament) of the Union Republic of Yugoslavia today. Russian deputies held talks with parliament leaders and heads of major party factions, who acquainted them with their evaluation of the situation in Yugoslavia and its position in international affairs, especially in the light of new sanctions adopted by the U.N. Security Council against the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia.

Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the Russian parliamentary Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, who heads the Russian delegation, told Yugoslav counterparts that the recent Security Council resolution cannot be perceived as the world community's last say. He voiced confidence that this document will be revised. Although many news organisations cover in the biased manner the Yugoslav crisis, confidence in the United Nations should not be lost, Ambartsumov said.

Simultaneously, the delegation voiced its negative attitude to the U.N. Security Council resolution, emphasising that the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies repeatedly declared against imposing new sanctions against Yugoslavia. Russian legislators said they will put the issue of cancelling or cushioning sanctions against Yugoslavia on the agenda of the Supreme Soviet or Congress of People's Deputies.

During talks in the Yugoslav Parliament, both sides shared the view that the Bosnian crisis can be solved only on the basis of the unqualified secession of hostilities and elaborating through talks a solution that will be acceptable to all Bosnian parties.

Joint Exercise To Be Held With U.S. National Guard

LD2004110993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1004 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Kolesnichenko]

[Text] New York April 20 TASS—Several U.S. military aircraft and helicopters from among the U.S. National Guard aviation left Alaska on Monday [19 April], heading for Tiksi in Siberia to take part in a joint two-day exercise, which will be an unprecedented one in the history of relations between the two countries.

The purpose of the exercise is to coordinate a mock search-and- rescue operation in Arctic conditions to rescue the crew of a plane in distress on an Arctic island 370 km north of Tiksi.

According to American participants in the exercises, they hope to learn more about cold-weather operations from the Russians, who in turn will get a glimpse at in-flight refueling procedures and the more advanced American aircraft.

"We all find (the cooperation) very dramatic" in view of the fact that the two countries had been enemies for so long, Brig. Gen. Kenneth Taylor Jr., commander of the Alaska Air National Guard, told the Associated Press news agency before the start of the unusual flight.

"We hope it will be useful in creating political stability (in Russia), which is in all of our best interests," said Lt. Gen. Joseph Ralston, commander of the 11th Air Force at Elmendorf air force base in Anchorage.

Ralston and three dozen air national guardsmen and air force personnel left early Monday for the five-day event. Ralston also will be meeting with several high-ranking Russian officers.

"It's important to establish that we can communicate with the Russians on a personal basis to build a level of trust," he said.

Thursday's simulated airplane crash is being staged out of the military base at Tiksi, at the mouth of the Lena river on the northern Siberian coast.

Four helicopters—two Russian and two HH-60G Blackhawks from the Alaska Air National Guard's 210th Air Rescue Squadron—will fly 225 miles (350 kilometers) north to the crash site. Rescue personnel will parachute in to tend the "victims" and prepare them for evacuation to Tiksi.

Originally it was planned to hold the exercise several months ago but the mission was postponed until a later date for financial considerations.

Secret Radar Factory Opens to U.S. Congressmen

OW1904043793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 14 GMT 93

[A. Tsirulnikov report; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] For many years, this factory was called a television factory. The name was designed to conceal what this facility was mainly concerned with. We often came here to shoot, but only in the section where television sets and radios were assembled. The rest remained out of the picture.

One can say that this is the first time that we are shooting the facility's chief products on its own ground. What is more, we are doing it in the presence of esteemed foreign guests—a delegation of U.S. congressmen, who spent several hours in Nizhniy-Novgorod acquainting themselves with the progress of economic reforms in the region. The television factory is now called the (Nitel) joint stock company and is the first defense facility in Nizhniy-Novgorod to become a joint stock company.

Only a few years ago, the best agents of the Western secret services were hunting for data on this radar station, and they had good reason to do so. For example, Viktor Silvestrovich Kapylov, the general director of (Nitel), revealed the capabilities of this equipment to the U.S. congressmen.

[Begin Kopylov recording] I would like to repeat that this is a three dimensional radar station which can see the Douglas company's invisible plane made with stealth technology. [end recording]

The U.S. guests asked what the enterprise has gained from becoming a joint stock company, and how conversion is proceeding.

[Begin Kopylov recording] I am willing to give an example. We have increased production volume by 29 percent, and reduced the proportion of defense equipment from 30 percent in 1992 to 17 percent in the first quarter of this year. [end recording]

Parliamentary Factions Oppose START II Ratification

LD1604211593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1752 GMT 16 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Moscow April 16 TASS—Russian Parliament member and coordinator of the Otchizna parliamentary faction Lieutenant-General Gennadiy Benov and representatives of the Russian Revival Union movement told a news conference here today they are against the ratification of the START-2 Treaty signed by Russia and the United States in January.

The news conference speakers did not deny political expediency of treaties on general reduction of strategic offensive armaments, but said the START-2 may result in the loss of strategic parity and noted insufficient elaboration of economic aspects of the treaty implementation.

They said the START-2 fulfilment will require changes in the Russian strategic forces' structure and their rapprochement with the current structure of the U.S. strategic offensive armaments.

Russia will have to eliminate 43 per cent of ground-based missiles, which are the core of the Russian nuclear triad. At the same time, it will have to increase the potential of sea-based complexes and strategic aviation.

Against the background of the Russian economic crisis, it is extremely difficult to provide for such reorientation of Russian strategic armaments, they said.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Holds 16 Apr Briefing

Condemns Hungarian Envoy's Comments

LD1604172193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1656 GMT 16 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Aleksandr Smelyakov]

[Text] Moscow April 16 TASS—It is not expedient for official representatives of third countries, especially those having bilateral obligations on protection of ethnic minorities, to interfere in the complicated and delicate process of Russian-Baltics relations development, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Directorate Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today.

The statement was made in connection with an interview of the Hungarian ambassador to Finland, also accredited in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, with the Hungarian NEPSZABADSAG newspaper.

The interview advocated the Baltics stand on the whole range of Russian-Baltics relations, which are the subject of inter-state negotiations, said the Russian Foreign Ministry's representative. In particular, the Hungarian diplomat unfoundedly described the temporary presence of Russian troops in the Baltics as a threat to these countries' sovereignty, said Sergey Yastrzhembskiy.

"The countries themselves, in the ambassador's opinion, show a sober, well-considered and liberal to the Russian-speaking population approach. However, it is unclear how these allegations of the Hungarian ambassador come together with his words one spark is enough to ignite a conflict similar to the one in Moldova," he stressed.

"In fact, such a conflict may be feared, as it may be instigated by the inflexible stand of the Latvian and Estonian authorities, who, depriving of citizenship hundreds of thousands of permanent republican residents, put them in unequal conditions with republican citizens," noted Sergey Yastrzhembskiy.

The Russian side is sure this course does not correspond to crucial interests of Latvia and Estonia and is patiently negotiating with the Baltic states to achieve a constructive solution to these problems, stressed the spokesman.

Denies Territorial Issue With Finland

LD1604191893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1754 GMT 16 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Aleksandr Smelyakov]

[Text] Moscow April 16 TASS—There is no territorial issue between Finland and Russia, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today in connection with a statement by Kalevi Sorsa, member of the Executive Committee of the

Social-Democratic Party of Finland, on three Russian islands in the Gulf of Finland.

The representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry said that during Russian President Boris Yeltsin's official visit to Finland in July last year, both sides confirmed the absence of any problems in the political sphere of the Russo-Finnish relations which was set forth in the Russo-Finnish Treaty on basic principles of mutual relations.

"We are proceeding from the fact that the above mentioned statement by Kalevi Sorsa has a purely internal political aspect in the context of the election campaign and is not intended to be an obstacle on the way to the development of goodneighbourly relations between Russia and Finland," Sergey Yastrzhembskiy pointed out.

Views Relations With Latvia

LD1604192693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1830 GMT 16 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Aleksandr Smelyakov]

[Text] Moscow April 16 TASS—In the course of consultations between the Foreign Ministries of Russia and Latvia from April 14-15, actual problems of bilateral relations were discussed, including the condition of the Russian-speaking population in Latvia, the problems of the stationing and withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Latvian territory, and consular issues, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today.

The Russian side, he noted, insistently urged its partners in consultations to prolong the time of the transition period given by them for introducing a visa regime of crossing the borders. It was proposed to postpone this date from March 22 to April 18. We believe, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy stressed, that a full visa exchange could be introduced after signing a number of agreements regulating an order of transit journeys to the Kaliningrad region and the crossing of borders by residents of contiguous regions of the two states.

At the same time, the Latvian side raised a question of handing the building of the Russian Consulate in Paris over to Latvia. It was agreed that this problem will be decided in the course of the further Russo-Latvian talks, the Russian diplomat said.

Touching on a question about Russian citizen Sergey Parfenov who is serving a sentence in Latvia, accused of exceeding his official powers, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy said that the president of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Soviet, the Foreign Ministry and other departments, as well as public organisations and individual Russian citizens had repeatedly addressed the Latvian side requesting it to hand Sergey Parfenov over to Russia. The leadership of the Latvian Republic expressed its readiness to resolve this issue positively after the end of the court proceedings and the creation of the appropriate legal mechanism. The Russian side responded to the wishes and terms put forward by Riga.

"When an inquiry appeared from the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office on handing Sergey Parfenov to the Lithuanian side for investigation on other matters on the grounds that Lithuania brought an action against Sergey Parfenov, the Russian side gave assurances that in accordance with the signed agreements between our states on legal assistance, a legal action may also be taken after handing Sergey Parfenov over to Russia. In these conditions we have the right to expect the Latvian side to immediately implement the agreement on handing Sergey Parfenov over to Russia to serve a sentence there," Sergey Yastrzhembskiy stressed.

Visa Requirement Introduced for Latvians, Estonians

LD1604200293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1502 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow April 16—In response to the decision by Latvia and Estonia to introduce mandatory visas for Russians wishing to enter these Baltic Republics, the Russian Government on April 13 passed the decision to introduce visas for Latvian and Estonian citizens wishing to enter Russian territory.

The new procedure will be in force until bilateral agreements on mutual travel are signed between Russia and the countries concerned.

The Russian Government has instructed the Security Ministry to exercise Latvian and Estonian passport and visa control at the crossing points open for international passenger traffic on the Russian borders with Latvia and Estonia.

The visa regime will begin to be enforced on the thirtieth day from the day on which the decision was passed.

Naval Officers Comment on Ukraine Moves, Black Sea Fleet

Navy Commander Cited

PM1904145993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Apr 93 p 1

[Vladimir Gundarov report: "Russian Navy Commander in Chief on Black Sea Problem"]

[Text] Admiral Feliks Gromov, commander in chief of the Russian Navy, who is now with the Northern Fleet directing a command staff exercise, made the following comment to your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent regarding the situation that has developed in the Black Sea Fleet in connection with the Ukrainian defense minister's order setting up Ukrainian commandant's offices in the fleet's garrisons.

"I understand the concern felt by the leaders of Ukraine's military departments that the republic's citizens were taking part in fleet peacemaking actions during which refugees were brought out of Georgian territory. But the Ukrainan Defense Ministry must in turn realize that there are also Russian citizens serving in all Black Sea Fleet units. And we also have an interest in their rights being observed. All problems must be resolved within the framework of the negotiating proceses; it is, moreover, primarily necessary to think about people and their morale, not to create additional difficulties for them."

During the negotiating process, Feliks Gromov went on to stress, our side submitted a draft document on dual citizenship. In my view, that is one of the best solutions to the prevailing situation, including for representatives of the Black Sea Fleet. But it has gone unanswered by Ukraine, although some three months have already elapsed.

The unfriendly approach to the resolution of common problems is evidence of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry's desire to have autonomous, unilateral control of the Black Sea Fleet. We have lodged a protest in connection with the Ukrainian military department's decision to appoint its own officers as garrison heads. These unilateral appointments are a breach of the Yalta agreement as long as the forces of the fleet that are under the command of the two presidents—of Russia and Ukraine—serve in these garrisons, Admiral Feliks Gromv, commander in chief of the Russian Navy, said.

Incidentally

The Crimean Supreme Soviet asked the Ukrainian and Russian presidents 15 April to officially confirm their commitment to the Yalta accords, formulate mechanisms to comply with them, and suppress any unilateral actions that destabilize the situation in the fleet and in the region.

Deputy Commander on 'Nationalist Hysteria'

PM1904111393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Apr 93 p 1

[Report by Vladimir Maryukha and Vladimir Pasyakin: "A Businesslike Tone of Discussion of Black Sea Fleet Problems Does Not Suit the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense. This is the Explanation, According to Admiral Igor Kasatonov, for Recent Statements and Orders by the Ukrainian Defense Minster"]

[Text] In a statement disseminated by the Russian Fleet Press Center Admiral Igor Kasatanov, first deputy commander in chief of the Russian Federation Navy, stresses that the unilateral actions of Ukraine, which in effect violate the spirit and letter of agreements reached earlier, reveal a clear desire for the "physical abolition of the Black Sea Fleet." In Admiral Kasatonov's opinion, Ukraine is forgetting that "disregarding the existing situation and whipping up nationalist hysteria around the issue of the future of the Black Sea Fleet could lead to the most unpredictable consequences, all responsibility for which will lie exclusively with the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense."

Meanwhile the "attack" on the Black Sea Fleet is continuing, and the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense is trying to "point the finger" in Russia's direction. Thus, for example, NARODNA ARMIYA, citing Nikolay Savchenko, chief of the Ukrainian Navy Press Center, informed its readers that some mythical directorate in the Russian Ministry of Defense is allegedly engaged in elaborating anti-Ukrainian material for publication in Crimean publications. And Ukrainian readers are notified of this by an external student of the Russian Armed Forces Humanities Academy!

The Black Sea Fleet newspaper FLAG RODINY, which is registered in the Russian Ministry of Press and Information and the Crimean Republic State Committee for the Press, has evidently also been categorized as part of the "fifth column." There is a proposal to convert its facilities for the publication of "patriotic" Ukrainian literature and a newspaper, FLOT UKRAINY. Our colleagues from FLAZHKA, as citizens of Sevastopol call the newspaper, were surprised to hear that they will be no longer funded by the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense. After all, to this day they have not received a single karbovanets from Kiev. Not one Kiev authority has ever bothered about the delivery of even one kilogram of paper for the newspaper, let alone everything else which FLAGA RODINY's publishing house and printing plant require. Paper is still delivered directly from Kondopoga, printer's ink from Torzhok in Russia, and equipment from Moscow. The paper has no other sources of material support.

But the stance taken by the newspaper, which honestly recounts all the ups and downs of the battle over the Black Sea Fleet, clearly does not suit the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense. The same goes for the continuation of normal dialogue between Russia and Ukraine on the future of the Black Sea Fleet. Hence the reaction of the inhabitants of Sevastopol and Ukraine to the statements and orders of Colonel General Konstantin Morozov is understandable—to suspend its unilateral actions aimed at dividing the Black Sea Fleet until the agreements signed in Yalta and Dagomys expire.

New Commander of Tajik Border Troops Named

LD2004090093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0853 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe April 20 TASS—Major-General Anatoliy Chechulin, 47, was appointed commander of Russian frontier troops in Tajikistan. He replaced Major-General Vitaliy Gritsan.

In Moscow the press service of Russian frontier troops told TASS that before the appointment General Chechulin hold the position of the deputy chief of staff of the frontier troops of the Russian Federation.

Japanese Foreign Minister Links Bilateral Aid to Kurils

LD2004085393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0840 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo April 20 TASS—Tokyo will no longer link international aid to Russia with the territorial issue. However, it will hinge large-scale bilateral aid to Moscow on the solution of the South Kurils problem. This is the crux of Japanese Foreign Minister Kabuna Muto's statement to the newspaper "TOKYO SHIMBUN". His interview is published in today's issue of the daily.

"We shall strive to settle the 'northern territories' issue while, at the same time, rendering aid to Russia," the minister said. "Economic aid must be extended within the framework of international cooperation, but bilateral assistance cannot be separated from the territorial problem," he added.

According to Muto, Tokyo intends to "adhere strictly to the principle of indivisibility of politics and economy" in its relations with Russia. These priciples make large-scale Japanese aid to Russia dependent on the solution of the South Kurils issue.

Turning to President Yeltsin's probable visit to Japan this may, the minister said that "the territorial problem would, naturally, be raised during his talks with representatives of the Japanese Government". Muto said Japan did not intend to press for the inclusion of the Russo-Japanese territorial dispute in the agenda of the July G-7 summit in Tokyo.

The minister also said he did not plan to visit Moscow in preparation for President Yeltsin's expected visit. He recalled that former Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe had visited Russia before the announced postponement of President Yeltsin's visit to Japan, initially planned for September. "And I believe there is no need for me to go to Moscow now," the minister said.

PRC Navy Commander Visits St. Petersburg

OW1904142193 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 12 Apr 93

[From the "News" program]

[Text] Chinese Navy Commander Rear Admiral [as heard] Zhang Lianzhong has ended his formal visit to St. Petersburg. Prior to his departure from St. Petersburg, his told an ITAR-TASS correspondent the friendship existing between the Russian and Chinese people will continue regardless of the politial situation.

This is the first visit to Russia and the first visit to St. Petersburg by the commander of the Chinese Navy. During the period of his visit in St. Petersburg, he was briefed on the shipbuilding industry and its production capacity. He was also briefed on the design of war ships manufactured near the Neva River.

Zhang Lianzhong left St. Petersburg for Moscow by plane. From Moscow, he will go to Vladivostok to study the situation of the Pacific Fleet.

Delegation Ends Visit

LD1704024193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Ponomarev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The visit of a Chinese military delegation to the Pacific Fleet ended today. The delegation was headed by Zhang Lianzhong, commander in chief of China's Navy. The delegation visited several ships and subunits. An understanding was reached during the visit that a detachment of warships of the Pacific Fleet will pay a friendly visit to China in the summer.

Talks With China on Border, Economic Problems

MK1704121693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 17 Apr 93 p 10

[Sergey Tsekhmistrenko report: "Border Problems Between the CIS and China. Economic Problems Supplant Territorial Ones"]

[Text] A delegation headed by Eduard Sviridov, department chief at the Foreign Ministry legal administration, returned from Beijing to Moscow yesterday. The delegation participated in the first meeting of a working group tasked with drafting a border agreement focusing on the legal aspects of establishing a border between China and the CIS countries. Another visit yesterday, the trip to the Russian-Chinese border area by Deputy Prime Minister Shokhin, touched on the economic aspects of the border problem.

The border talks between the CIS republics and China began last October when a joint CIS delegation under Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze held talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. At that time, Tajikistan did not take part in the talks because of its difficult domestic situation.

Now the group includes representatives of the Governments of the People's Republic of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. During the 10 days of talks the negotiators discussed a range of problems related primarily to the demarcation of the western part of the CIS republics' borders with China.

A KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent learned from an informed Foreign Ministry source that "the demarcation of the border in the Tien Shan area remains

the main stumbling block, but these are technical difficulties." According to the diplomat, "the two sides have already reached a certain level of agreement, and the process got off the ground."

What the Foreign Ministry official described as a much more contentious issue is the determination of the eastern part of the border between China and Russia in the area of the confluence of the Ussuri and Amur Rivers. Although the disputed area is not greater than several dozen meters, the two sides are still unable to reach agreement despite the fact that the key border problems concerning a number of Amur islands have already been resolved—it was done during Andrey Kozyrev's visit to Beijing in March of last year.

Another acute problem for Russia, the other CIS republics, and China is the shortage of money to erect extra checkpoints, which forces thousands of people and vehicles to crowd the border area awaiting registration.

It was these matters regarding the liberalization of the border regime that were discussed by Aleksandr Shokhin with border guards and customs officers of the Far Eastern railway station of Grodekovo near the Chinese border and the city hall of the Chinese border town of Suifenhe.

Shakhray Meets Swedish Foreign Minister in Moscow

LD1904114193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1110 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow April 19—Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the Nationalities Committee Sergey Shakhray met the Swedish minister of foreign affairs, Chairwoman of the CSCE Council Margaretha af Ugglas, who is in Moscow on a short working visit.

The problem of nationalities in Russia, including a settlement in Northern Caucasus and the rehabilitation of Russian Germans were the main topics discussed at the negotiations. They also analyzed the integration of countries within the CIS.

Sergey Shakhray, speaking with journalists following the meeting, was positive about af Uglass's proposal to send a CSCE mission to Abkhazia.

Official Interviewed on New Passport Regulations

OW1904040893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Studio interview with Ministry of Internal Affairs, MVD, General Rudolf Alekseyevich Kuznetsov, chief of the MVD's passport and visa service, by Mikhail Solntsev; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] [Solntsev] The new Russian law on departure from the country has come into force, and it has brought a mass of worries to many of our adult compatriots who are interested in finding out how to obtain a passport, and how to leave Russia for permanent residence overseas, or just temporarily in order to go and look at the world. We have already told you of the problem in one of our earlier broadcasts during the week, and today our guest is MVD General Rudolf Alekseyevich Kuznetsov, who is directly involved with the problems of new passports, and the passport and visa regime generally.

Rudolf Alekseyevich, good morning. Regarding these worries about passports, they say that it is more difficult to leave now than before. Is this so?

[Kuznetsov] This is not quite so. Indeed, for the first time we have a new law which repeals those exit authorization permits which always had to be obtained for every journey. Now a person does not have to present any invitations, or anything. He just completes the uncomplicated application forms and, by law, within a month our organization must issue him with a passport for foreign travel, although this passport still bears the crest of the USSR. We do not have the new ones yet because we still do not have Russian symbols. So, no authorization permit is needed, and during the next five years the person may travel to any country in the world. Naturally, it is necessary to obtain a visa from the country which he wishes to visit.

[Solntsev] So, in this way we have transferred the exit difficulties to the receiving country. It will have to make the decision whether to admit our citizens or not.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, I know through my work, and so forth, that they have quite a big headache. As you know, in the past, even in the days of the former Union, we were always being reproached for not observing human rights, not allowing freedom of movement, and so forth. When the law was adopted and clarifications made, Western countries became very frightened that there may be a major exodus of our citizens and they did not know how were they going to cope with it. In this regard, many countries over this period adopted a number of laws which allow entry under stricter conditions. I can give you an example: Previously, one could travel to the Federal Republic of Germany on personal business, and while there, request to remain, and be allowed. Now, the rules are very strict. One can only receive permission for permanent residency from the embassy in one's own country. If you came for a temporary visit and wished to remain, it would not be allowed. You have to return to your own country and receive permission for permanent residency.

[Solntsev] By the way, do you have figures on how many people are leaving the Russian Federation for permanent residency abroad? Has the volume increased since the law came into force or not?

[Kuznetsov] No, we do not have the current figures yet because the month is not yet over and we keep a monthly

track of them in major regions. However, I can give you 1992 figures. In all, 104,000 received permission, although I cannot confirm that they all have left because we do not control this. Of this number, 30,000 were under the age of 18. The highest level of immigration is to Germany. Traditionally, there are four favored countries: Germany, Israel, the United States, and Greece. The number immigrating to Greece is constantly falling. Immigration to Israel is also dropping. The leading country at present is Germany.

[Solntsev] There is a lot of talk that the price for the new passport is soon to be sharply increased. At present it is 4,500 rubles. Has this figure changed?

[Kuznetsov] Here we have one peculiarity. There is a Russian Federation law on state duty on a sliding scale, and the size of the amounts of state duty are prorated by a certain percentage to the minimum wage. Why is it 4,500 rubles for the issue of a passport at present? Because, to date—I do not know if the law on the minimum wage has been signed yet or not—the minimum wage, let's say at the end of March, was 2,250 rubles. The cost of the passport is fixed at twice the minimum wage.

You perhaps already know that the new law increasing the minimum wage to 4,275 rubles has been discussed and adopted in the Supreme Soviet. So, multiply that amount by two, and that will be the cost of the new passport. Additionally, every citizen pays another 50 rubles for the cost of the passport form itself.

[Solntsev] Rudolf Alekseyevich, have the present passports, which many citizens of the Russian Federation already have, become invalid as a foreign travel passport?

[Kuznetsov] The old type of passport which carries the authorization permit for overseas travel is valid. Let's say you officially registered in December, and the one year authorization permit was placed in your passport. Let's say, you intended to travel, but by force of circumstance were unable to at the time, but now you can go. Since you have the authorization permit in your passport, you can easily travel and you will be allowed through. Many people have the same limited time authorization permit but with a multiple travel visa. So in practice, having the authorization permit, everything will remain current till 31 December 1993.

[Solntsev] Good, thank you for those answers. Tell me please, your department in the Ministry of Internal Affairs is responsible for internal passports—the question of the resident's permit. What is your view on this problem?

[Kuznetsov] I can tell you, but probably you know about it, that the new Russian Federation law on freedom of movement and choice of place of residency was adopted by the Supreme Soviet in the first reading. The resident's permit as such was repealed, and only a registration procedure at the place of residence is introduced, thus simplifying it greatly for the citizens. That is, you and I may choose where we want to live, and registration will be our only responsibility.

[Solntsev] Another big problem periodically mentioned in the press is that of foreigners—meaning foreigners from far away countries—in Russia, as well as other territories of the whole former Soviet Union. What is the most acute problem at present, in your view?

[Kuznetsov] The most acute problem today is that in the Soviet Union, I mean Russi,—sorry, I still have the old habit—there are more than 1,700 citizens—perhaps even more; we have only counted 1,700, mostly citizens of certain Asian [as heard] countries—such as Somalis, Kurds, and so forth, who have arrived here for various reasons such as tourism, or with transit visas and so forth, intending to settle permanently in Western countries. Unfortunately, however, their intentions are not realized because these countries are not accepting them, so they are remaining here. In Moskovskaya Oblast they are occupying five rest homes. True, they are being paid for by charity societies in Western countries and we are not spending money on them.

Besides this, considering that Russia does not have borders with many countries—they are transparent—in many republics visas are paid for and issued at the border. For example, travelers from Asian countries arriving in Tashkent can obtain a visa at the border, then calmly board an aircraft and, because they are not checked again, fly to Russia. As a result, we now have a collection of Afghan and other citizens.

Besides this, our foreign citizen's stay regulations were changed giving them freedom of movement. They could travel to any city, rayon, and so on, without permission, excluding a very small number of places still closed to foreigners. The foreigners, naturally, make use of this by moving about freely and, by breaching the stay regulations, become illegal visitors. We have a great many of such citizens.

[Solntsev] I understand this adds to the headaches of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who, along with the Russian Ministry of Security, shoulders the responsibility for registration in order to try and stop penetration into Russia—with a visa issued in Kazakhstan or Uzbekistan—or even beyond Russia and on to the territory of the Baltic countries.

[Kuznetsov] I do not want to even hide the fact that we have close liaison on this issue with the Ministry of Security, because we jointly exercise control over a foreigner's stay. Problems of another kind also arise from the fact that many foreigners are involved in illegal activities here. They are engaged in illegal trade, and they even say that there are organized crime groups. This has been mentioned several times before.

[Solntsev] That is true. I would like to thank you for the answers you gave to the "Utro" program's questions, and to tell the viewers that, literally, in five or ten minutes, a representative of the Russian Ministry of Security will be in our studio, who will give us all a definite example of illegal activities by foreigners in Russia, and other republics of the former Union.

To you I say farewell, and many thanks. The guest of the "Utro" program has been Rudolf Alekseyevich Kuznetsov, MVD General and chief of the passport and visa service of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs. Thank you.

[Kuznetsov] All the best.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Meets With Trade Union Representatives

Unions Express Support

LD1904155693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1428 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Apr—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today received confirmation of total support from trade unions which are not part of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions and which have traditionally supported his policies. He met their representatives today in the Kremlin.

These trade unions are appealing to all their members and to other Russian citizens to "reiterate the political confidence in the president of the Russian Federation and to vote for early elections of people's deputies," says the statement delivered to Boris Yeltsin during the meeting.

The document states: "We can imagine the alternative to the presidential course for Russia's transformation that his political opponents are preparing today. We see the cause of the crisis in attempts to eliminate strong presidential power and to concentrate in the same pair of hands the legislative, executive, and judicial functions, that is to reinstate the old system." Therefore, the trade unions point out that the issue is neither about the confrontation between the Congress and Yeltsin, nor about Yeltsin himself, but about the real division of power.

Representatives from about 30 trade unions who are not in Russia's Federation of Independent Trade Unions, including Kuzbass miners, civil aviation pilots, dockers, and others, were present at the meeting.

Further on Union Meeting

LD1904195893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Free and independent trade unions held a meeting today in Moscow with President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin. The leaders of movements numbering 80 organizations with over 5 million members expressed their support for the government's social and economic program. Our correspondent, Vyacheslav Osipov, reports on the details of the meeting:

[Osipov] There are not as yet official political relations between the executive power and the free trade unions. For this reason, during the meeting with the president, the leaders of the movement expressed their wish to be included in a trilateral commission composing government, trade unions, and entrepreneurs. Up to now, 11 of the 14 seats on this commission have been taken by representatives of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia [FITUR], formerly known as the AUCCTU. So far the miners, metallurgists, dockers, and sailors, aviation and transport workers have organized free trade unions. There is even a trade union for the Cossack forces of Russia.

In their meeting with the president, the free trade unions spoke out in favor of private property and privatization, because it is easier to negotiate with a property owner or an owner of an enterprise than with a state bureaucrat of the nomenklatura. Boris Yeltsin was handed a message from the free trade unions expressing political support for the president and containing demands for early elections of the people's deputies. As regards relations with the FITUR, it was proposed that its activities be stopped until these activities are brought into line with international law, and that the possibility of adopting a decree on the right of every worker to strike be looked into, with the aim of establishing equality between employers and hired workers.

The leaders of the free trade unions also insist on the reorganization of and new elections for the councils of work collectives and on the creation of trade union organizations that exclude employers and, the most interesting point—that from May 1993 enterprise administrators be banned from making any deductions from wages on behalf of public organizations, including trade union contributions. As before, these still sit in one pocket—that of the official trade unions, the FITUR.

Kozyrev Predicts 'Hot War' if Yeltsin Loses Referendum

LD2004105993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Apr 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, a new hot war may break out in the CIS if President Yeltsin is refused a vote of confidence in the forthcoming referendum. He said this in an interview with the Ekho Moskvy radio station. The minister also stressed that a Yugoslav-style scenario would threaten Russia in such an event. Kozyrev said, and I quote him verbatim: If Yeltsin suddenly fails to win a vote of confidence, the vice president, the parliamentary speaker, and, above all, the National Salvation Front may well embark on an anti-Russian policy of forcible interference in the affairs of other republics—on the pretext, for example, of protecting Russian-speaking communities there. In other words, this is a kind of Yugoslav scenario, only our version of it. Those destroyed towns and the thousands killed in Yugoslavia will seem as harmless as a kindergarten compared to this. Kozyrev said this in an interview with a correspondent for the Ekho Moskvy radio station.

Yeltsin Should Form Own Party

LD1904195193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1932 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Igor Shubin]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—"It's bad that the president does not have his own party. Evidently it will be essential to return to this issue after the referendum," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said in a live interview with the Echo of Moscow Radio Station today.

Kozyrev believes that Russians should vote for confidence in the president at the April 25 referendum. In Kozyrev's view, at point at it will be not only the future of reforms but "the destiny of war and peace." He thinks that in case Boris Yeltsin fails to win the confidence vote, a conflict modelled after the one in Yugoslavia may break out in the CIS. The "second edition of the Cold War" against the rest of the world is likewise possible, Kozyrev said.

If voters answer "yes" to the question of the early elections of president, one needs to begin discussing the candidacy for vice president, Kozyrev thinks. At the same time, "if Bolsheviks win, there will be no elections," he added.

Yeltsin Orders Check of Rutskoy Corruption Charges

LD1904174993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1708 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin ordered the security and interior ministries, the controlling department of his administration and prosecutors on Monday to check the cases of corruption and embezzlement of state property cited by vice-president Alexandr Rutskoy in his speech in parliament on April 16, the presidential press service said.

The security and interior ministers, the head of the controlling department were instructed to report every week on the work and on measures aimed to ensure economic security of Russia, according to a resolution of the president.

Rutskoy Says Yeltsin's Reforms Will End Soon

LD1904175193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1652 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—"Arbitrariness in our society which is called 'reform' will end soon and we shall conduct transformations in the interests of society, of the people, in the interests of Russian revival", Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy told his political party activists on Monday [19 April] clearly referring to reforms of President Boris Yeltsin.

Rutskoy was addressing members of the People's Party of Free Russia, of which he is a co-chair, who were decorated with medals for defending the Russian Parliament House during the hard-line coup in August 1991.

The vice-president said the centrist "Civic Union" bloc, of which his party is a member, enjoys a growing support of the people. "We were united by the idea of democratic transformations of our society, by the creation of conditions for political and economic freedoms. We continue and will support the stand no matter how hard it is, no matter how they try to slander us", Rutskoy said.

Chubays Attacks 'Blatant Lies' in Rutskoy's Speech

PM2004123393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Statement by A. Chubays: "A. Chubays Rejects the Vice President's Claims"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Vice Premier A. Chubays was the only representative of the supreme executive power named by A. Rutskoy in his speech in the Russian Supreme Soviet 16 April to be in the conference hall that day. By a majority of votes, the parliament rejected A. Chubays's request to respond to the vice president's speech. The vice premier commented on what had happened to journalists in the lobby at the session.

"To give him his due, the vice president's speech listed some very serious facts. It was evident that Aleksandr Vladimirovich did a great deal of serious work, together with his entire apparatus, to collect these facts. Admittedly, if you paid attention, during the discussion, some thoughts were voiced to the effect that the majority of these facts were already known. The result of his work is surprising, and I see this as a very significant fact. It might have been expected that if crimes of this type were really exposed by the vice president, then it is his direct duty to immediately submit documents to the prosecutor's office. Therefore it is a very important point that of everything that was discussed, as the vice president himself admitted, there was only one case when documents were submitted to the prosecutor's office.

"I think that the point of Rutskoy's work was not to expose criminals and make them pay by law, but to create a political image of himself as a man who is using up his last energies to fight against corruption—and at that moment his personal doctor is taken away from him and instead of a Mercedes he is given some kind of half smashed up Volga... I am convinced that for A. Rutskoy, this is essentially his last realistic chance to save his political image after—as everyone has now found out—this man betrayed the president, betrayed those who trusted him during the elections. One thing now remains: He has to depict himself as a fighter for the truth, a fighter against corruption, which was what was done today.

"The part of his address that was devoted to privatization cleverly ties together real facts, garbled versions of real facts, and blatant lies. This was all tied together very skillfully by Rutskoy's apparatus, as is usually the case in such incidents.

"Let us take several of the most graphic aspects. For example, the privatization of the port of Nakhodka which Rutskoy described as a gross violation of the law, brought to light by a commission, and on the basis of which the commission intends to take some kind of action. Aleksandr Vladimirovich said everything. Except for one tiny detail: It was we, the State Committee for the Management of State Property, who brought these violations of the law to light. And we did not just bring them to light: By our directive we rescinded the directive on the privatization of the port. And we reached agreement with the Property Fund that the sale of the port's shares would be stopped immediately. That is the situation in which Aleksandr Vladimirovich carefully put down to his own credit something that we actually did. That is just one example which shows the way the remaining facts were selected and commented on.

"I do not think that it is worth carrying out a full analysis of everything that Rutskoy said. I will only say one thing. This man is a big expert at vivid appeals and vivid speeches, and an unsurpassed master at critical speeches. The main thing that he has done during the past 18 months has been to criticize. Sometimes you even got the impression that he is working as vice president in some other country, and that his main task is to look at events from outside.

Most unfortunately, as we saw, the Supreme Soviet was, for some reason, afraid to give me the opportunity to have my say. Therefore, with the help of the journalists, I would like to appeal to Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy personally, not even as a politician, not even as a vice president, but just as man to man, if a grain of the military honor of which he speaks, and a grain of manly qualities remain in him. He said a lot of things today, but in particular be stated at odd moments that he is prepared to prove Chubays' guilt in court. I appeal personally to Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy: 'Dear Sasha, go to court, then! Go to court and get at least one real result out of your vivid slogans.'"

Poltoranin To Sue Rutskoy for 10 Million Rubles

PM2004112993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Mikhail Poltoranin Intends To Sue the Vice President for 10 Million Rubles"]

[Text] The leader of the Federal Information Center has expressed confidence that he will win his case: He will send the money received to the fund to help Afghan war veterans.

As for the money, Mikhail Nikiforovich explained that he is sure that Rutskoy has enough to settle claims by many plaintiffs.

Mikhail Poltoranin dispersed the fog in which the vice president so thickly enveloped the history of the Berlin House of Science and Culture.

"In respect of this ill-fated Berlin building," M. Poltoranin noted, "we have yet to receive it, unfortunately. De jure it belongs to us in line with the president's edict, but in practice we have not be able to move in. Former staffers of the CPSU Central Committee International Department—Falin's bunch—were firmly entrenched here. (Editor's note: Valentin Falin was a former chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, then a Politburo member and a Central Committee secretary.) At the same time, they are still draining funds to maintain this building from the state budget. Today, the building has been handed over for the time being to Goskomimushchestvo [State Committee for the Management of State Property], and Goskomimushchestvo, having received it and carried out an inventory there, should give it to us. But Goskomimushchestvo staffers are being denied access... Ambassador to Germany Terekhov would seem to be involved in this.

"There are also organizations in the building which Rutskoy headed at one time, although, admittedly, it is not known whether he heads them now. So there are several parties interested in ensuring that the building is not handed over to the democratic press. Readers of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI should know that we would like to create an information and cultural center on the basis of this building, and apart from anything else install here 10 or so correspondent's offices for independent Russian media sources. The building and the correspondent's offices will be maintained through the money earned. It is also intended to use this money to purchase television and radio equipment for our television companies. But for now, the Berlin building's resources are being eroded in for unknown purposes."

Government Meeting Postponed to 29 Apr

LD2004084393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0837 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—A meeting of the Russian Government which was to discuss economic development in the first quarter of 1993 was moved up from April 22 to 29, according to an agreement reached early on Tuesday [20 April] by President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, TASS learned from Pavel Gurin, spokesman of the prime minister.

The meeting is also to focus on the implemetation of the government plan of economic reform in 1993 and on the basic provisions of the russian regional policy.

Filatov Interviewed on Political Situation

LD1704163093 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1005 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Interview with Sergey Filatov, identified as "head of administration and number two man at the Kremlin," with station correspondent Andrzej Siezieniewski; place

and date not given; Filatov in Russian with superimposed Polish translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] On 10 April we carried an interview with Russian Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov. Today, on the other hand, we will familiarize you with an interview given by Sergey Filatov, head of administration and number two at the Kremlin, to our correspondent, Andrzej Siezieniewski.

[Siezieniewski] Minister, Boris Yeltsin is accused by his opponents of dictatorial desires, Khasbulatov claims that he is defending the legal order, and of Russia it is said that it finds itself half-way between civil war and dictatorship. What is your opinion on this subject?

[Filatov] This is quite simply absurd. Everything that has been done while we have been in office proves that we are building a democratic society in which none of the political forces, nor any of the state bodies, has a monopoly on power. This is not to everyone's liking, however. The councils that were an integral part of the communist system are now attempting to restore their lost influence, regain their privileged position. In any case, the current constitution in a certain sense gives them this opportunity. For instance, it includes a clause—Article 104—claiming that the congress is the highest ruling body in the state, and that only it can consider the strategic problems of the Federation. Is this not a monopoly on power? Until recently, this point in law had a purely formal significance. Now it is being applied in practice. In my view, we thus have to deal with a conspiracy by persons seeking to carry out a coup. We experienced one in 1991, now we have the next one, and talk of civil war or of dictatorship is counter-propaganda, having as its aim to draw attention away from the real intentions of the other side.

[Siezieniewski] You speak of the political and legal aspect of the case, but after all, the basis of the struggle in progress is the economy. The period of reform has been in train for a year and one-half now, and as the opponents of the president claim, the results are, putting it delicately, not encouraging. The situation is worsening. Perhaps the chosen road is indeed not the most appropriate one for Russia?

[Filatov] You have touched on a very important matter, the economy. Here indeed is the essence of the dispute between two power structures. The point is that Parliament has from the first days of the implementation of the reform not been in agreement with its direction. It could and can carry out adjustments, but this is not what a certain group in the leadership of the Supreme Soviet and [words indistinct] deputies is concerned with. They themselves want to implement a reform according to their own concepts. They can attain this aim by two means—either openly manifesting against executive power, adopting the appropriate laws, and thereby revealing their real aims and face, or else by taking over the entirety of power, that means subserving to themselves [words indistinct] of executive power, just as was the case in the previous period.

What we are presently witnessing is precisely this second variant. Its implementation could be hindered by the constitutional tribunal, but unfortunately it is not undertaking activities that could resolve the dispute. That is why it is indispensible to get to know the will of the nation in the referendum that we are currently organizing.

[Siezieniewski] Deciding on a referendum, the president placed all his money on one card. He might win, but he might also lose. In this second instance, is Boris Yeltsin taking into account the possibility of surrendering power?

[Filatov] Let us start from the fact that the electoral commission ought to work in accordance with the law on the referendum. It is clearly stated that the counting of votes, according to the principles determined by congress, is in force solely in relation to constitutional problems. There are none of these among the questions set in the referendum. [passage omitted]

[Siezieniewski] In the political struggle that we see, both sides accuse each of using Bolshevik methods. Taking account of the fact that most of the present politicians were activists of the Communist Party, does this mean that things just cannot be different in Russia, that Bolshevik habits are the rule?

[Filatov] I would not say that such an approach is applied by both sides. At the moment, we are having to deal with a violent attack by opponents, forcing the president to proceed on the verge of respect for the law. The opponents are solely concerned with limiting Yeltsin's power. And what does the limitation of executive power signify? This is the reduction of its opportunities for activity, which in turn leads to a delay or even the loss of the expected effects. In this specific case we have to deal with the intended activity aimed against the program of reforms being implemented by the president.

[Siezieniewski] What is your prognosis for the development of the situation? Will Russia cope with its difficulties?

[Filatov] I would not sketch out the results of the economic reforms so blackly. For 6 months production has been maintaining a constant level, it is not falling. The rate of inflation is falling. It was 26 percent in January, 22 in February, and 16 in March. Thus, stabilization processes are proceeding. On the other hand, it is necessary to take into account that a crisis situation, especially in such a large state as ours, is not a quick event. Patience is indispensible. If this is understood and sudden movements are not made, then it is easier to avoid mistakes, more mildly pass through difficulties. I stress, the situation is stabilizing, perhaps too slowly, more slowly than we would like, but this is progress. I would not take this as meaning that everything is bad.

[Siezieniewski] You know both the political rivals, Yeltsin and Khasbulatov. Is cooperation between them still possible?

[Filatov] In a normal state, nothing should depend on the personal relationship between the leaders of two power structures. Over and above that I do not know of a country where the speaker of parliament passes himself off as a state activist and political leader. Such a practice must lead to rivalry. This is absolutely abnormal. Unfortunately, the Congress of Peoples' Deputies lacks the boldness and desire to change this state of affairs. I would put it thus: The head of state ought to be one man, directing himself in his behavior by those laws that the legislative power adopts. If this principle were to be adhered to, then the problems that we are struggling with here at the moment would disappear.

'Ironic' Reaction to Yeltsin Speech Noted

PM2004093193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 93 p 3

[Report by Ye. Anisimov: "The Economy, Like the People, Cannot Resign"]

[Excerpt] The fourth congress of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs [RUIE] was held in Moscow yesterday in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses and was attended by over 6,000 delegates and guests. They included 2,900 leaders of enterprises of various forms of ownership and over 200 representatives of banks, exchanges, and other commercial structures and every third person in the auditorium could consider himself a defender of the interests of joint-stock companies. At the previous congress only every fifth participant in the RUIE congress represented joint-stock enterprises.

The gathering was addressed by Russian President B. Yeltsin. The atmosphere in the auditorium during his speech was ironic, to put it mildly, and many theses were accompanied by distrustful rejoinders and when the president reported a substantial reduction in the pace of inflation in recent months there was open laughter. Yet Yeltsin was speaking of things of important to producers: In his opinion the government is moving in the direction of common sense; inflation is largely caused by the clumsy system of reciprocal accounting by enterprises which, failing to receive money on time, demand every new credits... In this connection a seven-hour working day is being introduced at cash accounting centers and—apparently at the end of the year—an automated accounting system will be introduced. [passage omitted]

Vice Premier Shumeyko's TV Appearance Criticized

PM1904124793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Nikolay Shiryayev report under the "TV Column" rubric: "Shumeyko Set the President Straight"]

[Text] At last we were shown the television program about which everybody had long been talking: It is essential that millions of people should know about the government's work, and the decisions adopted on what lies in store for them. The program "Echo of the Week" was broadcast on Moscow's Ostankino Television First Channel Monday 12 April at "prime time"—2010 hours. Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko—without doubt, a knowledgeable man—was answering questions.

So, an officer appears on screen and describes how the military are forced to sell their belongings and to collect and return empty bottles in order to somehow get by.

And what did the vice premier have to say? Majestically lounging on a sofa, he replies: Financial support for servicemen was raised some time ago, and it is possible to live on this money. The main problem, it seems, lies elsewhere—the laws adopted by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet are such that at best 16 percent of draftees will be successfully recruited in spring. The anti-Army mood in society in general has to be altered somehow.

Well, we do not need the vice premier to tell us this. In his position, he would have to know just how to do this. And, most importantly, there is something to say on this score. At the end of March, the president approved the program of social protection for servicemen and their families drawn up by the government. A decree was signed on personal insurance for the military and draftees in the event of sustaining wounds, injury, or illness. A government document envisaging that financial support be almost doubled is in the final stages. The Supreme Soviet has adopted a new law on pensions for the military. Finally, at the end of April, a government decree was passed on the payment of financial allowances, pensions, compensation, and benefits to those serving in the Baltic Region in the currencies of those states.

On a human level, these and other such decisions await the military. And, of course, the vice premier should have told us about them so as to somehow calm passions. But he did not do this. He managed to achieve the opposite result—viewers grew even more disappointed in the government than before: And they have no desire to join the Army, nor will they allow their children to do so.

Vladimir Shumeyko reinforced this "success" with a reply to a peasant who issued this complaint from the television screen: The sowing campaign has to get under way but there are no credits, and this means that there is no fuel, spare parts, or anything else. And it seems that the government is generally not interested in developing the agricultural sector and reaping a harvest. The peasants have had enough.

Here the vice premier would have done well to tell people that credits have been earmarked, especially as they actually have, and that if they have not reached their destination then it is the local banks which should

be jolted into action. But do you think the vice premier is concerned by such trivialities? He thinks only on global scales. So he talks about how it is not credits which are the problem—rather, the problem is whom to give them to. The government is now defining the recipients. In the middle of April?

But this is not the end of it. On two other subjects—pensions and gasoline prices—V. Shumeyko made simple factual errors, whose repercussions on our long-suffering society have yet to be ascertained. First he said that the minimum working wage is now equivalent to 4,500 rubles [R] when in actual fact the Supreme Soviet and the president have set a rate of R4,275. Maybe V. Shumeyko will pay each person the difference from his own pocket? Second, talking about the doubling of gasoline prices as of the beginning of April, the vice premier noted that this decision was rescinded by an edict of the president and that the increase will be small—76-octane gasoline, for instance, may cost R50 instead of R40, but nowhere near R80. But this edict actually returned prices to their 1 March levels, which means that 76-octane gasoline should still cost R40.

However, what can be detected is this: incompetence, alienation from the life of the people and their concerns, and a simple lack of informed opinion in the government's acts. It is obvious that V. Shumeyko has no time to study economics.

But every cloud has a silver lining. There is a hope that by showing us our government once a week, on Mondays, the television crews at Ostankino may be doing a good deed—people will find out just who is who.

Referendum Issues

Constitutional Court Examines Referendum Issues

LD2004115793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 10 Apr 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russia's Constitutional Court today is examining the decision on the referendum taken by the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies - specifically, the organizational arrangements and procedures for establishing the result.

[Correspondent K. Belov] Opening the hearing Valeriy Zorkin, chairman of the Constitutional Court, complained that the Court has had extremely little time in which to examine the submission in which Ponomarev, Yakunin, Kovalev, and a number of other people's deputies claimed that Point 2 in the Ninth Congress resolution contravened the constitution and the referendum law. However, Zorkin said, in view of the urgency and immediacy of the entire referendum issue, the Court has managed to study all the documents and to get an expert ruling ready for today's hearing.

A representative of the plaintiffs, the lawyer Igor Gurinovich, said that the Congress resolution contravened Article 35 of the referendum law, which stipulates that the results are worked out from the number of citizens taking part in the referendum, and not from the electoral roll.

His opponent, Boris Krylov, decided to present his own logic to the Court. The Constitution does not specify procedures for vote-counting. Therefore, the resolution does not contradict it. Furthermore, the holding of a referendum is governed not just by the referendum law but by other legislative enactments, Congress resolutions for instance.

The court hearing is continuing.

Police To Guard Polling Stations During Referendum

LD1904165193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1635 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Police will guard the polling stations during the nationwide referendum in Russia on April 25, according to a decree of the Russian president signed on Monday [19 April].

The decree called "on ensuring legality during preparations and the holding of the All-Russian referendum on April 25, 1993" appeared because facts were reported when the activities of executive authorities, political and public movements, citizens and mass media connected with the referendum were impeded, according to the presidential press service.

The right of the people and public organisations to canvass before the referendum is also often violated. The press service reminded that citizens and public movements are granted the right to control the preparations and the holding of the referendum by a corresponding law.

The president instructed executive authorities of all levels to ensure the implementation of the law on referendum, the press service said.

All violations are to be reported to prosecutors and also to the presidential administration, according to the decree.

Filatov Believes Congress To Meet After Referendum

LD2004102093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] Sergey Filatov, chief of the president's staff, considers it likely that a Congress of People's Deputies will be held following the forthcoming referendum. Addressing journalists in Moscow today, he announced that according to his information, Russian people's

deputies have been instructed to be in Moscow on 26 April. Sergey Filatov noted that 64 percent of all soviets are hostile to the president. He explained that this was due to the party nomenklatura being strongly represented in the soviets. The president's chief of staff expressed concern at the opposition's scheming at the present time up to and including provocative actions particularly with respect to the leaders of local administrations who actively support the President. In this regard, he drew attention to the speech by Vice President Rutsoy in parliament, calling this speech no accident.

Parliament Said To Have Decree on Referendum Results

PM1504104193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Sergey Chugayev report: "Referendum Has Not Yet Been Held, But Russian Supreme Soviet Has Already Prepared Draft Decree on Its Consequences"]

[Text] All the indications are that the leadership of the Russian parliament has decided in real earnest to prepare for the 25 April referendum. Two weeks before the start (!) of the nationwide vote the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet already has a draft decree of the supreme legislative organ on the consequences of the referendum. This, in particular, proposes to deem that the answers to the first two questions in the referendum "are in the nature of information." Journalists were told this by Sergey Filatov, leader of the Russian Federation president's administration, at a routine briefing in the Kremlin.

In the opinion of the leader of the president's administration, the situation prevailing in the country gives grounds for hoping that the referendum will take place.

Asked whether the referendum should be regarded as the start of B. Yeltsin's election campaign because the president is constantly calling on his supporters to vote according to the "four 'yeses'" formula, S. Filatov declared that in this case it is a question merely of the president's personal moral stance. The opinion of the president's team is that if a majority of voters say "yes" to the first question, there is no need for early presidential elections.

A vote of confidence in B. Yeltsin in the referendum, in the opinion of the leader of the president's administration, will make it possible to expedite the process of adopting the new constitution. This, S. Filatov believes, is far more important than early presidential elections. In his view, the new constitution should also be adopted (after discussion of the draft by the subjects of the Federation) via a referendum. This course of action will create guarantees that the new basic law can be repealed or "revamped" only via a referendum.

S. Filatov again stressed that what he most fears on the eve of the referendum is various provocations, and he thinks these have already begun. As an example, he cited the recent affair of the attempt to increase fuel prices. He also described as completely untrue the recent statements by R. Khasbulatov and A. Rutskoy that the president's supporters have forced entrepreneurs to contribute to financing the election campaign. A similar assessment was made of the document dubbed "Burbulis' plan for preparations for the referendum" which has been circulated among deputies. It was stated that G. Burbulis today engages only in analytical work and for a long time now has not prepared any plans for the president. In S. Filatov's opinion, such provocative actions will reach their high point in the last week before the referendum.

Referendum Preparations Marred by Cash Shortages

LD1904140493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1330 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filipov]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—"The sum of 20.4 billion roubles allocated by the Russian Parliament for preparing and holding the referendum on April 25 is desparately small," members of the Central Commission in charge of preparations for the referendum bitterly admitted in an interview with ITAR-TASS on Monday [19 April].

They said that the average salary of 20,000 roubles paid to members of local electoral commissions is often lower than the average pay received at their place of permanent work.

A total of 3 billion roubles were requested in addition to the amount allocated for salaries of the electoral commissions, unofficial reports said. However, nobody knows where to find the money, since the reserve foundation of the referendum is only 1.5 billion roubles. The necessary amount is expected to be drawn at the expense of the difference in pay between rural and urban electoral commissions. Members of rural commissions, especially in the depth of Russia, who are accustomed to material hardship, can do with some 8,000-12,000 roubles, while constantly complaining urban residents will get more. By comparison, during presidential elections 1,000 roubles sufficed for local commissions to cover all expenditure, while today, they are "suffocating" having 183,000 roubles at their disposal.

The lack of funds will probably account for electors' passivity on the day of the referendum. In the majority of constituencies an electoral campaign is not being held, except that conducted by the mass media. Invitations to take part in the referendum are not being printed and sent to electors' homes, as they were during recent election campaigns.

Asked about a possible fraud in the referendum, members of the commission explained that both they and workers of the prosecutor's office would not have enough time and strength to completely expose them. Such

investigations are usually made, as a rule, if corresponding complaints are lodged. If there are no complaints, the fraud is never found out, as shown by years-long experience.

Gaydar Advocates Ignoring Second Question of Referendum

MK2004122693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, 20 Apr 93 p 2 (signed to press 19 Apr)

[Vladimir Zorich report under the rubric "Referendum": "Yegor Gaydar: 'There Was No Integral Economic Course.' Nonetheless It Should Be Approved"]

[Text] Speaking at a press conference of the Public Council for the Referendum, Yegor Gaydar said that he would "not answer at all" the second referendum question, about the president's socioeconomic course. "This question is a piece of nonsense and a mockery. There was no, and could not have been, any integral policy of the president and the government because neither hold the key to the ongoing processes, and their actions are being blocked. The most glowing example is the budget."

This notwithstanding, the Public Council (comprised of Gennadiy Burbulis, Yelena Bonner, Sergey Kovalev, Garri Kasparov, Arkadiy Murashev, and Gennadiy Khazanov) recommend saying "yes" to the second question, too.

Expected Referendum Turnout 'Leaves Much To Be Desired'

MK2004121693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 9

[Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko, Jr. report: "Public Committee Demonstrates Impartiality"]

[Text] A session of the Public Committee for the Preparation for and the Holding of the Referendum took place in one of the rooms of Moscow City Hall yesterday. Your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent has learned that neither the president nor the structures subordinate to the Supreme Soviet chairman took the lead in creating this committee. It is, however, led by the president's representative for Moscow, Vladimir Komchatov. In particular, he revealed that all activities of the committee are financed from "citizens' donations and contributions by representatives of big business."

Yesterday's session of the referendum preparation committee discussed questions of delivering millions of copies of leaflets and posters to Russia's regions: the printed materials are being sent to the addresses of presidential representatives and local public committees in 87 regions in Russia, including the autonomous entities (with the exception of Chechnya.)

It is interesting that despite the fact that people from Yeltsin's entourage, including those from the Fund in Support of the President led by Russian People's Deputy Lev Shemayev, are taking part in the work of the committee, the texts of leaflets and posters mainly consist of the slogans "All out for the referendum!" and "Our answer is four 'yeses'!"

In this way, according to Vladimir Komchatov, the president's team intends to avoid accusations of bias and the desire to campaign for confidence in Yeltsin and new elections for the deputies.

Your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent has also come to learn that the footage of the addresses by businessman Konstantin Borovoy, economist Nikolay Shmelev, priest Andrey Kurayev, and others in favor of Yeltsin shown on cable television late last week had been shot with financing from the Fund in Support of the President.

Several additional videos produced at the Rezonans studio which explain the situation in the wake of the Congress will go on the air on Ostankino's first channel in a day or two.

Still, despite the marked increase in the activity of public bodies, the projected turnout for the plebiscite leaves much to be desired. Stanislav Kulakov, member of the Committee for the Preparation of the Referendum, told your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent that, according to his estimate, "as few as 35 to 40 percent of citizens" are going to take part in the voting.

Democratic Observers May Be Barred From Polling Stations

MK2004130693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 1

[POSTFACTUM report under the rubric "In Brief": "Referendum Results May Be Tampered With?"]

[Text] Information was circulated at the Public Committee of Democratic Forces session [no date given] in Moscow City Hall that on 14 April Yuriy Voronin and Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairmen of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, held a telephone conference purportedly on the organization of agricultural work, but which in reality focused on the referendum. According to the committee, Yuriy Voronin repeatedly stressed during the session that the main task in preparing for the referendum would be to bar observers from the democratic forces from the polling stations. According to the committee, this stance of the parliament chiefs will lead to considerable juggling of the referendum results.

Democratic Party Opposes Referendum Street Rallies

LD2004135893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 12157 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS - "Holding mass actions both by the president's supporters and his opponents,

scheduled for April 21-23, may lead to unpredictable consequences, warns the Secretariat of the Russian Democratic Party in a statement circulated today.

Leaders of the party have called on its supporters to prevent confrontation and warned all Russian citizens against "turning the streets of Moscow and other Russian cities into a place for settling political differences."

'Democratic Choice' Appeals to Yeltsin About Blackmail

PM1604130193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Valeriy Konovalov: "'Democratic Choice' Has Come Out in Chubays' Defense"]

[Text] The council of fully empowered representatives of the "Democratic Choice" association of supporters of reforms has made a statement in connection with the fact that "on the eve of the referendum there has been a marked increase in the activity of society's counter-reformist forces in the shape of its political structures and representatives in organs of legislative and executive power."

The statement asserts that the Civic Union is imposing on the president a "barter deal" whereby in exchange for political support at the referendum the president will have to hand over a number of ministerial portfolios. It is no accident, the statement says, that the main fire of criticism is leveled against the Russian State Committee for the Administration of State Property, since it is the process of privatization which is a key avenue of the reforms and it is in this direction that real results have been achieved. The main initiators of the attacks on the State Committee for the Administration of State Property are named in the statement as Russian Federation Vice President A. Rutskoy and Government Vice Premier G. Khizha. "If their line prevails," the statement says, "it is not hard to suppose what will follow: There will either be a change of label or the tough totalitarian system of leadership of all Russia's industry and agricultural production will be retained."

Here attention is drawn to the fact that the processes of the privatization of enterprises are reaching a crucial point when an increasing proportion of the directors corps, joining in the processes of transformation, is beginning to realize that it is already impossible to manage the economy using the old methods of the Civic Union.

The council of the "Democratic Choice" association has appealed to the Russian president and government chairman not to give in to blackmail and has demanded that A. Rutskoy and G. Khizha cease to interfere in the activity of the Russian State Committee for the Administration of State Property, that the department headed by A. Chubays be given the opportunity to work in peace, and that the necessary steps be taken for the real implementation of agrarian reform.

Party, Faction Leaders Discuss Referendum Issues

LD1804043293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1445 GMT on 15 April carries the 60-minute live or recorded "Referendum" program. Participants in the program include moderator Igor Borisovich Menzelintsev; Irina Viktorovna Vinogradova of the Free Russia faction; Valeriy Ivanovich Gerasimov, representing the Left-Center Cooperation faction; Oleg Vladimirovich Sokolov of the Free Russia Youth Movement; Vasiliy Semenovich Lipitskiy of the Free Russia People's Party; experts Vyacheslav Nikonov and Vladimir Tumanov; Boris Aleksandrovich Korotkov, political observer of DELOVOY MIR newspaper; and Otto Rudolfovich Latsis of IZVESTIYA.

Menzelintsev begins the program by asking its participants to briefly describe the positions of their parties and factions on the eve of the 25 April referendum. Vinogradova says that the Free Russia faction rejects the referendum because the questions included in the referendum are not clear.

Vinogradova says: "The referendum will not bring about any serious changes for the better, namely the stabilization of the economy and political life. It will make people sit up. I think that the political plus, so to speak, of the referendum will be the fact that people will begin thinking about why the referendum is being held, what the causes of the conflict between the authorities are, and what their attitude is toward the Constitution."

Gerasimov says that members of his faction are not unanimous in their opinion about the referendum, since many deputies in the faction are also members of the executive bodies of power, presidential representatives, and advisers—like Dmitriy Volkogonov. He says that the faction's attitude toward the referendum was negative to start with, but changed when President Yeltsin said the decision was between the president and holding the referendum.

Sokolov says: "There are two possible ways for the country to develop. The first way is the road of reforms in the interests of the majority of people; the second way is the road of decline and collapse, leading to a civil war. It is obvious that all of us want to choose the first road—the road of normal and civilized reforms. Who is obstructing our way? The first force is radicals from the National Salvation Front and the Russian Communist Party, which is being revived."

Sokolov continues: "The second force, which opposes reforms and which actually stifled them, is personified by Yeltsin and those close to him. In essence, Yeltsin and those close to him are simply more cunning and skillful successors of the notorious State Committee for the State of Emergency policy. They were quick to understand that it is only property that gives real power—that political power comes and goes but property stays on. Therefore,

while the division of property is still going on, the presidential team will never resign."

Sokolov discusses promises given by Yeltsin, including a promise to resign, noting that he failed to fulfill any of his promises. He quotes Yeltsin as saying that only God can remove him from office. He says: "No matter what answers we give to the first or the second question, we achieve no resignation. So, what is the way out? To support Khasbulatov and the congress? No way. There is only one way out. Our opinion is taken into account only during elections. Therefore, our party, our youth movement, appeals to people to vote for pre-term elections of both the president and people's deputies."

Lipitskiy says that his party believes that "since the referendum was declared and will take place, it is the civil duty of all Russian citizens to participate in it and to express their positions." He goes on to say that the referendum should be used to try and change the course of reforms, to channel them toward meeting the interests of all the citizens. In order to achieve this, he says, it is necessary to renew power.

Lipitskiy says: "Therefore, we appealed to Civic Union supporters to vote yes on the third and fourth questions, which talk about pre-term elections for the president and deputies. As for the first two questions, we think that their legal content is not quite clear. Take, for example, confidence in the president. Generally speaking, the best way to find out how much people trust you is to take part in elections and to compete with worthy rivals."

Nikonov discusses, in general terms, the position of centrists, who he says must maneuver and distance themselves from the president but, on the other hand, not move too far from the president. He goes on to discuss the referendum and its history in Western Europe, weighing arguments in favor of and against a referendum, providing illustrations with specific examples from history.

Tumanov says he is amazed by the sharpness of remarks with regard to the referendum and by the negative attitude toward it. He says that the referendum is a great event.

Latsis says that the answer to the dispute between the congress and the president is quite simple: "Let people of any state right now confirm or reject the legitimacy of those it once elected under different conditions. Finally, the most important thing. Russian people are carrying out the most difficult, unusual, and unprecedented work, which is absolutely necessary. The issue of the referendum is, in fact, the issue of the future of reforms."

Latsis says that the Congress of People Deputies is unworkable and unprofessional, as congress relays have proved.

Lipitskiy notes that the "referendum is a very important and useful way for people to express their opinion," but the questions included in the referendum are not specific, and the absence of any kind of legal basis for implementing the results of the referendum is a sad fact. He says: "The Congress of People's Deputies is a very inefficient body, and it has many faults." However, Lipitskiy says: "Today it is the only one place in our disintegrating federation where all of Russia meets, where all its regions, all its towns—and not only towns of the Russian Federation towns are represented."

Gerasimov discusses the history of referendums and says that centrism is not popular in the country and will never be popular because the country is split into either the extreme right or the extreme left, either black or white. Therefore, he says, the centrists will be constantly under pressure to move to either of the sides.

Tumanov says that the situation during referendums in any country is never calm. He cites the Italian referendum as an example.

Korotkov says that he attended a news conference held by the president yesterday, where he heard him saying that, if he gets support, he will produce a package of new proposals and solutions as early as 26 April.

Lipitskiy notes that on 26 April there will be no legal grounds for adopting a decision on the results of the referendum, and adds that Yeltsin has to wait until the 26th if he has any ideas and solutions.

Vinogradova says the president should stick to the centrist position and that the package should in no way contain any extreme measures. Gerasimov says that people did not demand any referendums; it was the president who voiced this idea at the congress—which was a violation of the law.

Korotkov asks Lipitskiy whether he thinks Vice President Rutskoy should have his own opinion, different from that of the president, noting that the vice president had the same view as the president in the United States. Lipitskiy says that Rutskoy is entitled to his own opinion as a member of a political coalition.

Menzelintsev concludes the discussion by expressing the hope that the people of Russia will seriously approach the issue of the referendum.

Further Referendum Discussion

LD1804055593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1445 GMT on 13 April carries the 60-minute live or recorded "Referendum" program. Participants in the program include political observer Georgiy Dolgov as moderator; Vladimir Konstantinovich Pavlov; Valeriy Shuykov and Igor Vladimirovich Muravyev of the Smena faction; Iosif Diskin of Renewal; Yuriy Grigoriyevich Gekht of the Industrial Union; scholars Vladimir Tumanov and Vyacheslav Nikonov; and correspondents Otto Latsis from IZVESTIYA and Vladimir Pavlov from ROSSISKIYE VESTI.

Shuykov says that his party consistently opposed the holding of the referendum. They warned many times about the danger of the referendum, which may lead to the collapse of the Russian state. Until recently, he says, the faction supported the president; then they began to criticize some of the president's actions. Shuykov says that the possibility of reaching a consensus has significantly diminished; therefore, the faction would like the first two questions on the referendum to be answered no and the last two questions to be answered yes.

Gekht says that, in essence, the position of his faction is similar to the position of the Smena-Novaya faction expressed by Shuykov. His faction, he says, did not want to take part in the referendum because they believed that the referendum determines nothing and because it will be the working people who will have to pay the costs of holding the referendum—which, as Yeltsin recently said, would change nothing. Gekht calls the policy being carried out by the present government barbaric and destructive. He calls for an end to the political intrigue that is currently under way. The only thing that is possible, Gekht says, is the reelection of all branches of power. He says his union voted for the impeachment of the president.

Pavlov asks Shuykov about the conflict with the president. Shuykov denies there is a conflict and recaps the background to the differences with the president. Muravyev, also of Smena, cites instances when Smena supported the presidential view.

Latsis asks Gekht, as an industrial manager, whether anything at all was left undestroyed by 2 January 1992. Gekht disagrees by saying that he never liked the previous system and that he did his best to destroy it. He disagrees with those who say that everything was bad in the past. He says they would be "categorically in favor of all the reforms" if they were to continue.

Diskin says his party is connected with industry and business and with regional administration heads. He raises the question of the collapse of the Soviet Union, recalling events of the past and stressing that the Burbulis team prepared a memorandum in October saying that the condition for holding the referendum was the collapse of the Soviet Union and the collapse of economic ties. He goes on to quote Nazarbayev as saying that everything possible was being done to disrupt economic ties.

Latsis disagrees by saying that it was those who ruled the Soviet Union who are responsible for its collapse.

Dolgov asks the participants of the program to leave the issue of the collapse of the Soviet Union alone and return to the referendum issues.

Muravyev goes on to stress that the president is not the only person to blame for the current situation. He says "deputies are equally responsible" for it, and the faction is in favor of pre-term elections of both the president and the parliament.

Nikonov asks Diskin to describe the position of the Renewal party on the referendum. He says: the people themselves should decide whether they have confidence in the president; they have reminded their supporters on many occasions that they oppose the socioeconomic policy; and they favor presidential and parliamentary elections.

Tumanov says that the referendum should not be used to scare people with its possible outcome. A referendum should be held in times of crisis, he says, and the April referendum should be thoroughly prepared.

Gekht says that the results of the referendum should be summed up properly; it is known that mistakes took place in the past.

Shuykov agrees with Tumanov that everything possible should be done to ensure that the forthcoming referendum is held properly.

Latsis says that the Soviet Union, which he loved very much, collapsed because those who ruled turned into an empire. The issue of the referendum, he says, is not about the president's future but about the future of reforms.

Diskin disagrees with Latsis that a realistic policy is being currently implemented. He cites examples to support his position.

The participants then discuss ways to sum up the results of the referendum adopted in other countries. Pavlov says he knows at least seven legal ways to ignore the results of the referendum. Muravyev says that some politicians put the question the following way: Are you for a Russian or for a Chechen? He stresses that personalities are not important.

Tumanov says the Council of the Federation should decide the issue of pre-term elections.

Dolgov sums up the results of the discussion by saying that the participants agreed that the referendum is necessary and that it is vital to know the opinion of the public.

More Leaders Discuss Referendum

LD1904202693

[Editorial report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1445 GMT on 19 April carries a 60-minute "Referendum" program, hosted by journalist Irina Davydova. She opens the program by introducing its participants: Ivan Petrovich Rybkin represents the Communists of Russia faction; Mikhail Ivanovich Lapshin, chairman of the Agrarian Union; Vladimir Borisovich Isakov, a coordinator of the Russia's Unity bloc; Anatoliy Yevgenyevich Vorontsov, chairman of the Council of Collective Farms; experts Aleksey Mikhailovich Yemelyanov and Vyacheslav Alekseyevich Nikonov; and journalists Mikhail Vasilyevich Sharov, deputy editor of SELSKAYA ZHIZN, and Pavel Semenovich

Gutiontov, chairman of the Committee on Protection of Freedom of Speech and Journalists' Rights. Davydova then asks the participants to describe their factions' positions on the eve of the referendum.

Ivan Rybkin, of Communists of Russia, says that his faction believes that all powers—presidential, executive, parliamentary, and legal—should be looking for a way out of the difficult situation, instead of fighting each other. He points out that the policy pursued by the Chernomyrdin government requires some adjustments, adding that reforms should not be implemented at the expense of ordinary people. As for pre-term elections, both elections—of the president and of deputies—should be held at the same time, his faction believes.

Mikhail Ivanovich Lapshin, of Agrarian Union, says that he originally doubted the need to spend the entire day on the referendum at such an important time for agrarians as spring. He goes on to say that he changed his mind after a recent visit to a candy store where he saw a mother and with several children who were begging her to buy them candy which she obviously could not afford. He came to believe that the referendum should be held and that people should have their say in it. He goes on to question how such a country as Russia has reached its present state, and why there was such a catastrophic fall in production in the past two years. He expresses the view that the country may have gone the wrong way.

Vladimir Isakov believes that the referendum is "an unnecessary political campaign. It is unlikely that the social, economic, and moral situation in Russia will improve as a result of the referendum." Anatoliy Vorontsov, chairman of the Council of Collective Farms, notes fundamental changes in farmers' entire attitude to their work. He concludes by saying that people in his collective farm will most certainly attend the referendum. Ivan Rybkin then points out that during the implementation of two major policies—the land reform and privatization—there were violations of Russian law. He goes on to praise a speech on corruption made by Rutskoy at the parliament on 16 April.

The participants agree that Russia's fertilizers and ferrous metals, in particular, should not be sold to other countries at give-away prices. Lapshin says that his agrarian colleagues thought that the land reform was over, but there seems to be yet another re-allotment of land going on, when plots of land are acquired for the "new bourgeoisie" to build their "palaces."

Mikhail Sharov, of SELSKAYA ZHIZN, asks Lapshin what the main mistake of the reformers is, in his view. Lapshin says that the entire reforming process has been restricted to the re-allotment of land.

Vyacheslav Nikonov, an expert, asks Rybkin what he might do in Yeltsin's place. Rybkin says it is necessary to form a government of professionals, and improve social protection of the people. Isakov says that "if the opposition were to come to power—and in accordance with the law of political logic this is bound to happen at some stage—it would do what Yeltsin promised but failed to do. First, it will preserve the system of social protection of people which is being destroyed at present. Second, we will give freedom to various forms of ownership on the basis of their equality and not on the basis of one form of ownership destroying another. Third, we will ensure democracy by balancing three powers, and not on the basis of one power destroying another."

Rybkin then says that he fails to understand why Bill Clinton approved some of Yeltsin's recent moves. Lapshin notes that Bill Clinton always seeks the advice and approval of the Congress.

Nikonov comments on what has been said by the factions' representatives taking part in the program. Lapshin says there are two forms of state regulation—the administrative diktat and the economic form. His faction is in favor of the latter. Nikonov stresses the importance of administrative regulation of prices and wages.

Aleksey Yemelyanov, an expert, notes that the main topic of the discussion has turned out to be the economy. One must not forget that the country is approaching the referendum. He warns the participants that viewers may get the impression that the president is to blame for everything. He expresses doubt that any other person could have done better in the president's place. He points out that the Supreme Soviet is also to blame for the current situation. The problem may be that the president wanted to do too many things too quickly. He concludes by asking who would take Yeltsin's place if he were removed.

Rybkin points out that it is not a matter of personalities, the point is that one feels sorry for Russia. The discussion heats up at this point; the participants continue to argue with each other, ignoring host Irina Davydova. The program ends at this point.

Muscovites Polled on Referendum Questions

MK1704125493 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 17 Apr 93 p 2

[Oleg Savelyev report: "Muscovites on Leaders and Referendum"]

[Text] On 14 April 1993 the Moscow section of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions (Komkon-2) held a flash poll of 1,400 of the capital's inhabitants. The breakdown of answers to questions in this research is cited in percentages (in some cases together with data from similar polls held previously by the same service).

"In which political leader do you have most confidence: Yeltsin, Zorkin, Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, Chernomyrdin, or none of them?"

	22 Mar	29 Mar	14 Apr
Yeltsin	50	50	46
Rutskoy	9	10	8
Chernomyrdin	5	6	3
Khasbulatov	2	4	3
Zorkin	3	2	2
None of them	29	25	35
Hard to say	2	3	3

"Will you take part in voting in the 25 April referendum?"

	1 Apr	14 Apr
Yes	72	71
No	8	22
Don't know	10	7

The respondents who stated that they would take part in the voting or who had not yet made their minds up said that their answers in the referendum would probably be as follows:

	Yes	No	Will not vote on this question
Question No. 1	67	29	4
Question No. 2	50	42	8
Question No. 3	37	59	5
Question No. 4	80	15	5

Among those who do not intend to participate in the voting, answers to the question "Why do you not intend to participate in the referendum?" broke down as follows (the figures in brackets indicate the percentage calculated from all respondents):

I am not interested in politics	14 (3)
I do not have time, I will be doing other things	17 (4)
The referendum will not solve any problems	28 (6)
I have no confidence in either the president or the deputies	36 (8)
Other, hard to say	5 (1)
No answer	- (78)

Among those who intend to vote for having confidence in B. Yeltsin, answers to the question "Why do you intend to vote for Yeltsin?" broke down as follows:

It is only under Yeltsin's leadership that the country will be able to get out of the crisis	43 (22)
By voting for Yeltsin I am voting for democratic transformations	16 (8)
I do not want a return to communist rule	6 (3)
I do not like Yeltsin but we have no other leader	29 (15)
I will vote like everybody (like my friends)	2 (1)
Other, hard to say	4 (3)
No answer	—(48)

Among those who intend to vote against having confidence in Yeltsin, the question "Why do you intend to vote against Yeltsin?" obtained the following breakdown of answers:

I do not like his personality or manners	12 (3)
He is leading the country (together with democrats) down the wrong road	30 (7)
He has not justified the people's confidence, has not succeeded in being a leader of democracy	39 (9)
I have no confidence in any current authorities	11 (2)
I will vote like everybody (like my friends)	2 (1)
Other, hard to say	6 (1)
No answer	—(78)

Economic Issues

Chubays May Resign Over Privatization Issue

LD2004120193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1133 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—"A decision to restore ministerial control over enterprises will put an end to privatisation," Russian Vice-Premier Anatoliy Chubays told journalists here today. He is disturbed by the presently mounting campaign to make sectoral ministries exercise control over the property of enterprises instead of the Russian State Property Committee. Chubays will hand in his resignation if this happens.

Asked about Prime-Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's stand on this question, the vice-premier said that "he has not disclosed it fully so far". "I cannot say that our views fully coincide," Chubays added.

It is pertinent to recall that Chernomyrdin had criticised on several occasions certain elements of privatisation programme. He called attention to the fact that output

tended to drop when the form of ownership of enterprises was changed and that the state was thereby deprived practically of every opportunity to influence economic life.

Rutskoy, Gaydar Assess Economic Progress, Future

LD1904231893

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1245 GMT on 19 April carries a live or recorded 63-minute discussion chaired by station correspondent Aleksandr Kulikov with Russian Federation Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and Presidential Advisor Yegor Gaydar.

Rutskoy and Gaydar begin by respectively outlining their views on the social background to corruption in society. They both cite as examples the missing gold bullion, export of strategic resources, and economic reform. The unstructured discussion continues, Rutskoy makes critical comments of the government's economic policies and its talk of a reform which has produced nothing. Rutskoy recalls the days when the population paid lower prices for basic products compared to the high prices paid today.

At this point, Gaydar is heard defending government policies and notes the absence of real alternatives. Toward the programs end the station presenter asks for each to summarize his positions:

Rutskoy is the first to respond. He begins by noting that this is approximately the one-hundredth time he has responded to such a question. He then outlines his first point, stating that it is necessary—realistically—to clarify both task and goal; then noting that one has to live according to some kind of specified algorithm. Rutskoy continues, noting that without a mechanism for implementing reforms there can be no implementation. He then says that the most important algorithm—noting that in general people should live by this principle irrespective of economic relationships in society—is the definition of goals and tasks; an understanding of the goals and tasks not only by those who are ruling in Moscow, but by the whole population.

Rutskoy continues with his second point: an evaluation of the situation. He says there needs to be a realistic evaluation because what the media shows on television is one version; those who speak on TV have another version; and what goes on in the country is yet another. He notes that decisionmaking foresees mechanisms of both control and execution. Rutskoy notes that the system itself should not be constructed simply with administrative command levers that specify doing it this way and in no other way. Rather, he says, the system should act as a stimulus.

Continuing, Rutskoy notes the importance of providing the population with food products; at the same time he states it is possible to reduce the importation of both grain, meat, and other components of food products because we produce enough here. Rutskoy then claims that we are losing 40-60 percent of produce before it gets to the consumer. He states this particular problem can be resolved in three-four years if the economy moves in a specific, targeted direction.

Rutskoy now moves to the question of housing; specifically, housing construction and providing the population with adequate housing. He notes that Russia is the only power in the world which has enormous strategic resources of construction materials. Rutskoy then says the housing problem too can be resolved in three to five years if it too is tackled in a specific, targeted fashion.

His next topic on the agenda is the production of medicines. He says the situation today is terrible, especially because of the mockery with respect to the sick makes it a doubly immoral situation. Again, Rutskoy says this too can be solved; in this case utilizing the resources available in the chemical industry and in unspecified special industries within the military-industrial complex which can be reoriented toward production of medicines. He estimates this problem too can be resolved within five to six years.

Next, Rutskoy touches on the issue of production of consumer goods; specifically, the provision of clothes, suits, and shoes. He notes that this is primarily an issue for small and medium business—and that even this problem can be rectified within five to six years.

At this point Gaydar begins to address the same issues. He notes that if we have started the path toward a civilized market, then the main thing needed to get out of the situation today is not to make a fuss and not to get frightened, but to move firmly ahead. Speaking bluntly, Gaydar states that without a stable financial system—specifically a reliable ruble, a system for protecting private property, and an effective mechanism for rewarding entrepreneurial initiative—the economy can never develop and grow. He then notes that very little has been done to reduce the arbitrary rule of the official role of the state in the economy. Until this is corrected, he says that terrible corruption will persist and chaos will reign.

Gaydar then says that the main thing to do now is to reduce the omnipotence of officialdom, to clear it out of our lives. He says that only in this way can we stabilize and raise our economy. He notes that—generally speaking— experience shows that countries currently prospering started in situations no better than our own. Specifically, he cites the case of Germany and Japan.

Rutskoy briefly responds and says in effect there is now three times more bureaucracy than prior to the years of reform. Gaydar then tries to respond, but the station correspondent intervenes to conclude the feature and thank the two for their participation.

Yeltsin Encourages Young Workers To Have Children

LD2004110393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1051 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—"Don't be afraid to make children. Reform is moving ahead and life will improve", Russian President Boris Yeltsin told young employees of a new enterprise producing ready-made breakfasts which was commissioned on Tuesday.

The president said he had signed a decree to help women and children. It envisages, in particular, a 1.9-fold increase in state subsidies for kids.

"We support the policy of the president", "Yes to reforms", read the slogans on the enterprise which was equipped by the British "APV" company. A short rally at the plant pledged support to Yeltsin and workers said they will vote for him at the coming referendum.

Yeltsin said he was greatly impressed by the skills of Russian construction workers who erected the building of the enterprise, as well as by the quality and productivity of the British equipment. "Children in kindergartens and schools will like your products", he told the workers.

Voronin Envisages Administrative Steps To Cure Economy

LD1704123393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1142 GMT 17 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filipov]

[Text] Moscow April 17 TASS—A conference of manufacturers, organized by the "Industrial Union" faction and the Russian parliamentary committee for industry and energy, has opened in Moscow on Saturday [17 April] to discuss the socio-political and economic situation in Russia.

Deputy chairman of the Russian parliament, Yuriy Voronin, addressed managers of industrial enterprises. He pointed out that there had never been a state which came out of the crisis resorting to purely economic measures. In his opinion, the deplorable situation which emerged in Russia will lead to the use of administrative measures of regulating the economy, with centralized price control and wage freeze being priority measures.

Speaking about integrational ties inside the industrial complex of the former Soviet Union, Voronin said that the mutual attraction between former Soviet republics is strong enough, and as soon as the socio-economic situation in Russia changes for the better, many republics will ask to let them come back.

Yeltsin Edict on Oil Price Regularization Published

PM1604115393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Apr 93 First Edition p 13

[Edict of the Russian Federation President "On Measures To Regularize the Pricing of Oil and Refined Products in 1993," signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and dated 9 April 1993]

[Text] With the aim of regularizing the pricing of oil and refining products, **I decree**:

1. To maintain for all consumers the maximum retail price on oil products at the level in force as of 1 March 1993.

2. The Council of Ministers-Russian Federation Government is to examine, within a 10-day period, questions of the possibility of the following:

the cancellation of payments to the Russian Federation Ministry of Finances Price Regulation Fund concomitant on the supply of oil, including gas condensate;

the establishment, for oil and gas extraction enterprises (associations), of rates for excise included in the price of oil and gas condensate, in absolute terms, (in rubles per tonne), on the basis of their average level as of 1 April 1993;

the establishment of a special coefficient for the formation of internal prices on imported equipment, materials, and other resources used in the oil industry, taking into consideration the correlation between internal and world oil prices;

the cancellation of customs duties on imported equipment, materials, and other resources used in the oil industry.

3. The Russian Federation Committee for Price Policy and local organs of executive power are to ensure strict monitoring of the observance of the state price discipline in the economy in accordance with current legislation.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin, 9 April 1993

No. 441

Coal Industry To Be Declared Priority Sector

MK1704112693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 17 Apr 93 p 9

[Stepan Avdeyev report: "Yuriy Shafranik's Press Conference. Minister Promises Assistance to Coal Miners"]

[Text] The results of Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik's trip to Russia's key coal mining areas—the Kuzbass and Rostov Oblast—prompted him to hold a press conference yesterday. According to the minister,

the difficult situation in the coal industry requires immediate measures capable of stabilizing it.

According to Yuriy Shafranik, coal industry enterprises have found themselves in a "catastrophic" situation. For instance, from 1988, when 416.5 million tons of coal were produced, coal production dropped to 327.9 million tons last year. At present, consumers owe the coal industry around 600 billion rubles [R]. According to Shafranik, a package of documents drawn up by the Fuel and Energy Ministry which takes into account the experience of Russia's oil producing enterprises—which were recently granted a number of substantial privileges—might help solve the miners' problem. The package, which is expected to be adopted in April, includes, among other things, a draft presidential edict "On Measures to Stabilize the Coal Industry in 1993-1994," draft government decrees "On State Support for the Development of the Coal Industry," and "On Emergency Measures to Achieve Financial Stabilization of the Coal Industry." According to preliminary estimates, implementing the program to support the industry will require budget appropriations of more than R2.2 trillion. In addition to this, it is planned to exempt coal exports from customs duties and the mandatory sale of a portion of hard-currency earnings to the state. Thus, the coal miners, following the oilmen's example, will be given privileges regarding their foreign economic activity which may add (owing to the diminishing supply of hard currency) to the destabilization of the ruble. It is essential to note that in this event the negative impact of the coal miners' privileges on the national currency's standing will be less painful than the effect of privileges granted to the oil producers, since coal accounts for a relatively small share of Russian exports. The coal miners, however, may find compensation in a different area, namely, the decision that has been effectively agreed upon with regard to the establishment of a stabilization fund which will be made up of deductions of 3 percent of the value of all sales by Russian enterprises regardless of their forms of ownership. According to observers, the adoption of these decisions will be fully in line with the thinking of the "oil industry" members of the government who consider the fuel and energy sector an industry worthy of priority state assistance. This approach presumes that financial stabilization can only be achieved by slashing appropriations for the industries that have no future prospects. To all appearances it is the manufacturing industry that is going to be assigned to that category first of all, because it is unable to turn into a significant source of hard currency in the foreseeable future.

Gasoline Price 'Game' Linked to Referendum

PM1904145593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

["Commentary" by parliamentary observer Andrey Sharapov under "Referendum" rubric: "Gasoline Prices Like an Instrument of Agitation and Propaganda Department"]

[Text] The two gasoline price hikes and the decisive "sorting out," accompanied by the promise to punish the culprits, has enriched the methodology of the struggle for votes in Russia.

So far only Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov has provided logically structured explanations of the gasoline ups and downs: A directive of the deputy chairman of the prices committee suddenly raised the trade-supply markup on gasoline from 1.08 to 1.35. The Moscow Government, he said, bravely stood its ground until the twofold reduction in supplies, and then....

The government explanation of the president's edict brought further confusion into the affair: The previous status quo in prices, they say, is being retained only for agriculture's current sowing season.... However, this version only compounds our perplexity: For example, our modest knowledge of arithmetic suggests that if the gasoline ruble is increased by 1.35 rather than by 1.08, then it can only become twice as "heavy" in a non-Euclidean space—that is to say, Russia on the eve of the referendum. But nevertheless: Surely our democracy has not become so deep-rooted that it has destroyed any hierarchy of executive power, and the president repeals the edict of a committee deputy chairman, as almost his equal? Where are the limits of such democracy—the oblast, the plant, the housing office?

We turned to Vitaliy Shelikhov, deputy chief of the Administration for the Development of Oil Refining at the Russian Ministry of Fuel and Energy's Committee on Oil Refining, for a consultation on how gasoline prices are formed in a normal, non-pre-referendum situation.

"If you notionally take the price of crude oil as a unit, then, following its primary and secondary processing, the prime cost of the product rises to 2.2. Here, the proportion of wages in expenditure on refining is only 10-15 percent. The "add-ons" are: 28 percent—value-added tax, 25 percent—road tax; the trade markup is 1.08. Thus, in comparison with its prime cost, the price of gasoline will constitute around 3.6 notional units. At the same time, there is a problem connected with the reconstruction and modernization of the sector. The level of profitability at 28 Russian oil refineries is limited to 10-15 percent, although fixed capital depreciation sometimes amounts to 90 percent. A total of $8 billion and 13 billion rubles [R] at December 1991 prices are needed for reconstruction, which is equal to an increase in the level of profitability to 25 percent. But this is so far being forbidden us.

Thus, the gasoline price rise is mainly dictated by the rise in the price of crude. Simple calculations show that the predictable, "smooth" rise in gasoline prices may be as much as 20-30 percent a month. And of course, we cannot rule out the pernicious repercussion of official bungling whereby an economically ridiculous supply markup (1.35) may be imposed on the sharp rise in the crude price....

But there are a number of other scenarios. Money is needed for the referendum (or, more precisely, for the campaign staffs). Gasoline is something from which a financial gain can be obtained quickly. Or: The president needs a sharp boost to his rating, and with this aim in mind it would not be a bad thing for him to appear as the strict czar-father punishing remiss officials and protecting the people. There is the hope that the overall astronomical price hike will be overshadowed by this one propaganda trick.... And it would be best of all to combine both options: to collect the money and to polish up the prestige....

Obviously, this is only an assumption. But the clear lessons of the prices affair are there for all to see: The rather sordid game involving gasoline prices is either the result of confusion in the executive power system, or else a cunning political-economic machination. In any case, it pretty well characterizes the style, methods, and level of competence of the present executive power.

And no matter how hard the president may try to obtain additional political benefit, this affair is not working to his advantage. During the reshuffling of officials the promised culprits have not yet been found (scapegoats can turn up at any moment, though). And I am sure that we will not get to the bottom of this business for some time yet.

It would be better for the people not to get used to such games. And indeed during the sowing campaign alone they are very dangerous, because fuel price leaps may hamper the sowing, which will inevitably have repercussions on the food counters and prices in the fall.... This is the way we live.

Chernomyrdin Addresses Anti-Monopoly Committee Officials

PM1904102393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 14 Apr 93 p 3

[Extract from speech by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin at conference of chiefs of territorial administrations of the State Committee on Anti-Monopoly and Support of New Economic Structures; no date given: "Viktor Chernomyrdin: Unorthodox Approaches Must Be Sought"]

[Text] The progress of economic reform in Russia is being seriously complicated by the very high level of monopolization of production. In this context the role of the anti-monopoly committee as the central organ of executive power in this area is to grow substantially. Strengthening state guarantees of competition among economic enterprises is a very important task. The State Register of Monopoly Enterprises has been set up, but it frequently exerts negligible influence in practice. Situations frequently arise where enterprises which dictate market conditions do not figure on the roll. Given these conditions, it is essential to look for unorthodox approaches to regulating enterprises' activity.

Regulating the level of profitability does not have the necessary impact. Despite the fact that many documents were adopted in this sphere last year, a control mechanism has failed to be set up. Practice has demonstrated the ineffectiveness of trying to influence pricing though restricting the ceiling of profitability. Different approaches and regulators for enterprises which are natural monopolists are needed nowadays.

Given the critical condition of the economy and its structural reorganization, it is essential to have a selective approach to agreements between and associations of economic entities, regarding them not just in terms of the letter of the law but in terms of economic advisability. Clearly agreements between and associations of enterprises designed to speed up scientific and technical development, to implement joint conversion programs and effective development projects, and to win new foreign markets should not be banned by the anti-monopoly committee. In-depth analysis from the standpoint of competitiveness in domestic and foreign markets and of economic, social, and political effectiveness must be carried out here in every specific case in conjunction with all interested departments.

Committees for the protection of consumers' rights are being set up in the regions. But their activity has been ineffective to date. The population, the producers, and trade workers are still little aware of legislation and of their own rights and duties. There are a large number of violations of anti-monopoly legislation and of the Law on the Protection of Consumers' Rights. The list of actions brought by the territorial administrations of the anti-monopoly committee on its own covers 84 closely typed pages. These comprise adulteration of products, the manufacture of poor-quality items, and the sale of goods without quality certificates.

Trade has run wild, and all of us have also done so somewhat. Who is preventing local leaders banning the sale of vodka in commercial kiosks if it is well know that people are poisoned by it? After all, there are laws allowing this to be done. Bashkiria recently adopted a decree on this question. Vodka is now sold only in stores, and there have been no cases of poisoning.

One other problem which we have to tackle thoroughly this year is the growth in regional monopolies, which is the reverse side of the objectively strengthening process of regionalization of reform. The arbitrary disruption of economic ties and the erection of obstacles to the movement of goods and capital in the common Russian market are not mere high-handedness but act as a kind of steamroller squashing the shoots of competition in our economy.

We must seek to ensure absolute compliance with all existing laws. Wherever they are inadequate, we will improve the legal base, exercising the right of legislative initiative to the full.

Some Results of the Work of the Russian Federation State Committee in Charge of Antimonopoly Policy in 1992

Applications examined	8,629
including cases of violations of antimonopoly legislation	3,583
Actions brought	2,025
of which administrative actions numbered	227
Administrative convictions	173
Orders issued	1,952
Number executed	1,414

Economist Views Inflation; Money Emission

LD1904143693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1346 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Money emission in Russia comprised 350 billion roubles in February which exceeded the sum emitted by the former Soviet Union in 30 years (1961-91), according to noted Russian economist Grigory Yavlisnkiy.

In February-March 1993 the growth rate of incomes in the country exceeded the rate of expenses by 20 per cent. The general index of prices for consumer goods comprised 20-25 per cent during the period. Wholesale prices for oil grew 6.3-fold. The weekly inflation rate was 5-6 per cent for basic goods, he said at a conference on Monday [19 April], adding that economic factors rather than the coming referendum will determine the Russian near future.

However, Yavlinskiy admitted that it is possible to curtail inflation by a strict policy which it is possible to implement only in case there is a political support of the people.

Although he criticised President Boris Yeltsin for "gambling" his political career at the referendum which is an additional stress for the ailing Russian economy, Yavlinskiy added that the president remains the only guarantor of democratic development in the country. Yeltsin's main task is to lead Russia along a democratic path to new elections and allow another person to continue the race, according to Yavlinskiy.

Intelligence Service Rejects 'Yeltsingate' Charge

LD1904133893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1210 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Passages in slantlines as received]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—A statement by the press bureau of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service was circulated here today:

In connection with the article entitled "Yeltsingate," published in PRAVDA on 17 April, the press bureau of the Foreign Intelligence Service wishes to make the following observations:

1. Neither in the past nor at present has the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service had any connection with deals in "red mercury" or with the drawing up of documents permitting such deals. Hints by the authors to the effect that certain members of staff of the Foreign Intelligence Service are "involved" in these activities do not correspond with reality.

2. As is well known, the Foreign Intelligence Service conducts its activities outside Russia's borders. The documents relating to "red mercury" filed on 24 March 1992 at the request of the Russian Federation secretary of state are based on information from foreign sources. At the same time, a note emphasized the following /ignored by the authors of the article/: All the data cited were obtained by intelligence means. Insofar as they relate to Russian practice, they must be rechecked immediately by the appropriate law-enforcement bodies.

Such a check was carried out on the initiative of the Russian Federation Ministry of Security and the Russian Federation Foreign Intelligence Service. During work on "red mercury," working contacts were established with the Russian Federation Academy of Sciences and a number of scientific research institutes. The law enforcement bodies of a number of foreign states were questioned on this matter.

The official and practical checks carried out make it possible to ascertain that there is no compound with the given chemical formulae and properties. This has been confirmed in writing by the heads of the Russian Federation Ministry of Atomic Energy, the Russian Federation Academy of Sciences, and others. Documents from Western special services and the U.S. Department of Energy confirm that "red mercury" does not exist in nature. Given this, the conclusion was drawn that "red mercury" deals are being used as a cover for large-scale international financial machinations to launder "dirty money," and that valuable strategic materials /platinum, gold, osmium, indium, uranium, plutonium etc./ are being exported in the guise of "red mercury."

During the entire period since the problem of so-called "red mercury" emerged, the Foreign Intelligence Service has been drawing attention to the impermissibility of deals involving it, and to the possibility of such deals being used by criminal elements—a circumstance which the authors of the article unfortunately fail to note.

3. No state can permit the publication of secret documents in the press. That directly contravenes the policy of strengthening Russia's statehood. The Foreign Intelligence Service has appealed to the Russian Federation Ministry of Security to investigate how a secret document came to fall into the hands of the authors of the article.

New Decree Seen as Drastic Departure From Reform

MK2004132693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, 20 Apr 93 p 1 (signed to press 19 Apr 93)

[Mikhail Leontyev report: "New Government Program. Selective Structural Policy for the Beginning, Collection of Pine-Needle Flour by Winter"]

[Text] Having received by official distribution the government decree "On Selective Structural Policy" signed by Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, the vice premiers and ministers of the government mentioned therein were really perplexed. The document, which was prepared in nearly "underground" conditions, has passed all the usual procedures for agreement and signatures (it had only one signature on it—that of assistant prime minister Boris Pashkov). The concept underlying this strange decree is described in detail on page 3. Its very form, however, forced both the State Legal Administration and a number of other government offices to make a minimum number of necessary changes. It is for this reason that the date by which the titanic work on the decree was to be completed was deferred from 25 April to 10 June.

The changes, however, did not render the contents of the document any less sensational. Its essence amounts to a drastic change in the government's ideology, which can hardly be called reformist even at present. The document was born deep inside the prime minister's new think tank under his own assistant Boris Pashkov (former assistant to Nikolay Ryzhkov); Yakov Urinson, director of the Center for Economic Assessment and Forecasting; and his deputy Leonard Vid (former deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee). It is this center (its director was given the rank of minister) that is currently the main source of economic ideas for the head of government, and Leonard Vid, who appears to be the sole economic authority for the prime minister, was groomed by the latter for the post of economics minister to take the place of the dismissed Andrey Nechayev.

In any event, however, things turned out differently. The president appointed his adviser, Oleg Lobov, vice premier and economics minister. While Chernomyrdin may have agreed to this appointment, it is unlikely that he proposed it—the document lacks even the usual reference "at the recommendation of the premier." Oleg Ivanovich Lobov, a man who had long been Ivan Silayev's first deputy—and later, after his chief left the Russian government, took over as acting prime minister—has demonstrated his utter incompetence and an absolute lack of any coherent economic views. His short spell as acting prime minister was marked by a complete breakdown in government activity and an unprecedented, rampant corruption. According to the then economics minister, Yevgeniy Saburov, when in the autumn of 1991 a government meeting chaired by Lobov seriously considered the question of gathering pine-needle flour for the winter, he got the feeling that he was in a lunatic asylum.

Now Lobov will head the Economics Ministry, or the former USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], and there is no doubt that in practice it will be Gosplan that will tell Lobov what to do. This appointment creates difficulties, to put it mildly, for Fedorov, the new finance minister; a government in which the two key economic ministers hold diametrically opposed ideological views indeed becomes a "coalition" government. The situation of another first deputy—Vladimir Shumeyko, who has grown ideologically close to the holdovers from the Gaydar team—is getting simply ambiguous. It is unclear what is left for him to head.

The reason for the president's reintroduction of Lobov is probably that Yeltsin is afraid that the prime minister, who is quickly increasing his own political authority, may considerably strengthen his position. Therefore, Lobov's sole advantage is his personal loyalty to the president dating back to Sverdlovsk.

Now it is only natural to expect that yet another presidential adviser, Mikhail Maley, will replace Chubays. Then add Filshin and Yaroshenko, and "the government of national catastrophe" that was expected to arrive in office in the autumn of 1991 as an alternative to the Gaydar team will finally come into existence.

Wherever the initiative of Lobov's appointment may have come from, he will in no way disagree with Chernomyrdin's new program. Or with the ideas of the parliament's great economists—Khasbulatov, Voronin, and Ispravnikov—or with the economic views of Valentin Pavlov, who for some reason is sitting on the defendant's bench at the Supreme Court. Lobov has already found time to speak in favor of "the fourth privatization option" proposed by parliament, to back (along with the prime minister) the idea of "a cartel agreement on prices" that would freeze the absurdly disproportionate prices and paralyze the market (see page 3). The only thing that one cannot help asking the conflicting sides on the eve of the fateful referendum is: "What is your argument about, gentlemen?"

'Shared Concern' Prompts State, Private Sector Alliance

PM1904121193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Irina Demchenko report: "Leaders of State and Private Sectors Move Closer"]

[Text] K. Zatulin, coordinator of the "Political Enterprise Initiative" movement, and A. Dolgolaptev, cochairman of the "Renewal" Union, held a joint press conference 8 April. This was the first time the movements, which unite leaders of the private and state sectors, have spoken out together.

This rapprochement between what had previously been thought to be implacable economic and political opponents was brought about, as they both put it, by a shared concern for the future of the Russian Federation and for

the outcome of any possible future elections, and by fatigue with the endless struggle between representatives of the executive and the legislature both in the center and at local level. The representatives of the industrial elite from both economic strands unambiguously stated that enterprise leaders—irrespective of an enterprise's form of ownership—will no longer tolerate being treated like the "masses" and intend henceforth to play an active part in political life.

It was stressed at the press conference that this rapprochement between members of the state and private sectors does not mean that they have achieved complete mutual understanding. But the differences remaining between them are more tactical than conceptual in nature.

It is interesting that the cochairman of the "Renewal" Union, who had previously initiated the creation of "Civic Union," talked with less warmth about his comrades-in-arms in that movement than about his new allies. But the conferences of the directors and entrepreneurs will be held in different premises, even though they will be on the same day—16 April in Moscow.

Relevance of Market Forces to Reform Doubted

PM2004093993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Apr 93 First Edition p 8

[Oleg Bogomolov report: "Relying on Market Forces Is Not Reform"]

[Text] It seems to me that we should be in no hurry to sing the praises of reform before most of the people have felt the benefit of any improvement. The attitudes to the still very primitive and distorted emergent market (and sometimes not market at all) relations and democracy does not allow us to divide society so easily into reformers and conservatives, or into supporters of progress and those who want to restore the old ways.

The means chosen and the pace of the radical transformations are wrong, in my view. We are seeing more and more evidence of the failure of the economic reform that has been begun. While trying to prove this factually, many people are calling for a change of policy. Can they be accused of opposing reform or can the blame for failure be pinned on them? I do not think that dissidents deserve to be ostracized. In fact, we should be gratified that we are seeing an argument between the supporters of revolutionary and evolutionary paths of development, and that an obstacle has emerged in the way of reckless radicalism.

The thesis—quickly latched on to by propaganda messages—that there is no alternative, remains unproved. Social development has always permitted a variety of options depending on circumstances and, in particular, political choice. Nobody has yet proved that in Russia revolutionary reform is preferable to evolutionary, gradual reform. Nobody has yet thought seriously about this subject. And if the results of reform have been lamentable, we should not console ourselves with the thought that casualties are inevitable and that had it not been for price and wage liberalization a complete crash would have happened long ago.

Mistakes have been made and unjustified haste permitted in solving fundamental questions about the state system and the transition to the marketplace. Everyone makes mistakes, of course. But the reluctance to learn from our own mistakes and the insistence on continuing with a policy which is having the opposite effect to the one intended is unforgivable.

There is as yet no discernible light at the end of the tunnel, and the search for a path and for leaders continues. It is hard to pin our hopes for a turn for the better on the emergent stratum of comprador bourgeoisie, who have made their money mostly from speculation and are spending it not on developing production but on conspicuous consumption (stylish imported cars and country homes). The people who will get us out of our rut are the million-strong army of peasants, workers in industry, health care, science, education, and culture, and civilized entrepreneurs—initially small and medium-sized businessmen—whose energies and conscientious work should be encouraged and receive material and moral incentives. But the reforms have failed to encourage this main source for reviving the country's economy, to create incentives for investment in developing production and enterprise in industry, or to provide incentives for ordinary people to work honestly and wholeheartedly.

When current politicians mouth the intonation familiar from the past that "whoever is not with us is against reform and democracy," you ask yourself what is going on. Is it a belief in their own infallibility, another ploy in the battle for power, the abrogation of responsibility, or an attempt to pin the blame for failures on others? You would have thought that, if the restructuring of Russian society was to succeed, we would need to doggedly strive for consensus between the main political forces, patiently persuade each other on the basis of facts of the need for certain decisions, self-critically assess the results, and take responsibility for incorrect actions. Instead of this, we are seeing the provoking and whipping up of confrontation, and a demand that we show unconditional respect for a policy to which there is allegedly no alternative. That route will lead to nothing but discord and, subsequently, dictatorship.

These destructive processes largely explain the helpless state of Russian statehood. It is a question not so much of constitutional faults and a crisis of relations between the president and the representative authorities, as it is of the inability of state structures to run the country, control economic processes, or maintain order in society.

Of course, we must find the correct constitutional solutions in demarcating the powers of the federal center and

Federation components, of the president and the bicameral parliament. Giving the president the functions of both lawmaker and executor of laws clearly runs the risk of provoking clashes with parliament. But neither the referendum, early elections for president and parliament, or new constitutional provisions will of themselves guarantee that the crisis of statehood will be overcome.

Creating a sufficiently broad stratum of competent and incorruptible administrators, resolutely enhancing the professionalism and responsibility of parliamentarians, surmounting the monstrous bureaucracy and tyranny of apparatchiks, and restoring confidence in state organs as the defenders of the interests of all citizens and human rights requires prolonged and purposeful efforts. We should deal seriously and thoroughly with state building and the selection of administrators. But today the state is attempting to off-load its commitment to guarantee citizens access to education, medical aid, and housing. Once we are forced to resort to social engineering in order to get back to a normal, viable system, we will have to think about which engineers will tackle the job and which tools they will use. Relying on the invisible hand of the market to put everything to rights is naive.

Supreme Soviet

Decree Outlines Regulations for Referendum Campaign

PM1904170593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

["Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decree 'On certain measures connected with campaigning during preparation for the 25 April 1993 all-Russian referendum'," dated 16 April and signed by Yu.M. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet]

[Text] In accordance with the decision of the Ninth (Extraordinary) Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies on holding a national ballot-referendum 25 April 1993, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet **decrees**:

1. To establish that in accordance with the RSFSR Law "On the RSFSR Referendum," and also in accordance with the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies Decree "On the 25 April 1993 all-Russian referendum, the procedure for calculating its results, and the mechanism for the implementation of the results of the referendum," Russian Federation political parties, trade unions, other public organizations and mass movements, enterprises, and citizens have the right to campaign unhindered via the mass media and by other methods which do not contravene Russian Federation legislation, and using their own funds, for or against the resolution [resheniye] of a particular question submitted to the 25 April 1993 all-Russian referendum.

In their activity connected with campaigning for the referendum and the questions submitted to it, state enterprises, organizations, public associations, mass movements, and the state mass media cannot use the personal finances of citizens of the Russian Federation, the finances of foreign citizens, people who are not in possession of citizenship, and foreign legal entities, budget monies and nonbudget and hard currency funds of subjects of the Russian Federation, or monies of local budgets and nonbudget and hard currency funds.

2. The Russian Federation Government is to prevent the use of monies of the Russian Federation republic budget for holding the all-Russian referendum aside from the estimates of financial expenditure ratified by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet for the preparation and holding of the all-Russian referendum.

3. During preparation for the all-Russian referendum the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice and the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office organs are to provide for the monitoring of the lawfulness of the activity of public organizations and mass movements of citizens. In the event of the violation by public organizations and mass movements of the legislation in force, the measures stipulated in Russian Federation legislation are to be applied immediately.

4. Proceeding on the basis of the decisions of the Ninth (Extraordinary) Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies, (Point 3 of the Decree "On measures ensuring freedom of speech on state television and radio broadcasting and in the information services"), state mass media are to be given equal opportunities to campaign for and against the questions submitted to the all-Russian referendum. The Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Information is to ensure that the aforesaid provision is carried out by all state mass media.

5. Given that in accordance with Article 5 of the RSFSR Law "On the RSFSR Referendum," the right to unhindered campaigning for and against a decision submitted to the referendum is granted to citizens of the Russian Federation, it is established that:

Officials of federal organs of Russian Federation state power, organs of state power of subjects of the Russian Federation, and local government organs have the right to take part in campaigning for the referendum only outside working hours;

Russian Federation federal organs of state power and administration, organs of state power and administration of subjects of the Russian Federation, and local government organs are to adopt measures to prevent the aforesaid officials participating in referendum campaigning while utilizing their official position and state funds, including funds of enterprises, institutions, and organizations which are directly subordinate to these organs of power and administration.

6. Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office organs are to reinforce supervision of the legality of the financial

activity of enterprises, organizations, and public associations in connection with the preparation and holding of the all-Russian referendum.

[Signed] Yu.M. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

Moscow, House of the Soviets of Russia

16 April 1993

No. 4817-1

Parliament's Role in Leaflets' Publication Questioned

PM1904152793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Sergey Taranov report: "Russian Supreme Soviet Publishes Antipresidential Leaflets and Hides Behind a Mythical Committee"]

[Text] The Moscow edition of the previous issue of IZVESTIYA reported that the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has started publishing blatantly antipresidential proclamations. An order for three leaflets—signed "The 'Reforms for the People' Public Committee"—was received by the IZVESTIYA Publishing House directly from the Supreme Soviet's editorial and publishing department. The supreme legislative organ has paid for print runs of millions of copies of these top-priority documents.

Let us recall that there were three "appeals to the people" in all. The first two—about the size of a standard typewritten sheet—talked of the growth in prices, the reduction in meat and milk consumption, the ratio of births to deaths, interethnic conflicts.... The last paragraph of each leaflet calls on the people to express no confidence in the Russian president.

The third proclamation differed somewhat in style and tone, breaking all norms of decency. Thus, the supporters of a president who was elected by the whole people are called "speculators and mafiosi, moneylenders and brokers, dealers in bribery and corruption, careerists and scoundrels...." You can't help asking: Surely it was not for the sake of such texts that the Supreme Soviet and the Congresses of People's Deputies fought with a stubbornness worthy of better application for "their own" publishing houses, papers, and television and radio broadcasting companies?

This is a rhetorical question, however. It remains to be discovered just what sort of committee the "Reforms for the People" is, publishing its propaganda pieces under parliament's wing and on its money, that is to say, the money of the taxpayers, including those who actively support the president.

Despite every effort, IZVESTIYA's parliamentary correspondent Sergey Chugayev was unable to get hold of any detailed information. Our correspondent was told by V. Novikov, chairman of the Council of Deputies' Factions, which unites all the officially registered parliamentary factions and groups, that he knew nothing of such a deputies' formation. Nor does V. Syrovatko, secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, know of its existence.

It was explained to our correspondent at the Council of Deputies' Factions that any association of deputies—a faction or a group—can consider itself officially recognized only by being registered according to compulsory procedures at the Congress. The "Reforms for the People" public association has not been registered at any of the nine congresses. Thus we can be talking only of some informal association of deputies, or, much more plausibly, an attempt by the Supreme Soviet Presidium to hide behind a nonexistent "public" organization on which all blame could be pinned in the case of a big scandal.

INTERFAX's correspondent was also out of luck in his search for the founders of this committee—nothing is known of this social formation in the Russian parliament.

Tamara Lazareva, chief of the Supreme Soviet's editorial and publishing department, was just as unforthcoming and enigmatic. In her words, the Supreme Soviet leadership deemed it possible to satisfy "Reforms for the People's" request "for assistance, by way of an exception, in the preparation of an information leaflet on the referendum." Tamara Lazareva refused to clarify precisely which parliamentary leader gave her the corresponding instruction. However, it is not hard to guess that the mysterious committee's benefactors could only be the top leaders of the Supreme Soviet, since satisfying the request involves the expenditure of many millions of rubles.

In this respect the remarks of Vasiliy Kazakov, chairman of the Central Commission of the All-Russian Referendum, whose speech at a meeting of representatives of the Russian Federation's organs of power was fully reported 16 April by ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, look curious. Vasiliy Kazakov said: "...And I repeat once again: State funds are not to be allocated for campaigning; this is not provided for."

Thus, the first million copies of the leaflets will appear on the streets of the capital any day now. Who will distribute them and how? We would be happy to catch sight of at least one representative of the "Reform for the People" committee.

Republic Council Adds Mordovia Decree to Agenda

LD1404201693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1945 GMT 14 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow April 14 TASS—The Council of the Republic has voted on Wednesday [14 April] to put on the agenda of a joint session of the Russian Parliament an appeal to the Russian Constitutional Court demanding to confirm that the Russian president's decree on Mordovian Presidency is constitutional.

Lawmakers did not take into account arguments put forward by Chairman of the Committee for Legislation, Mikhail Mityukov, who said that deputies do not have "a juridical basis to look into this question."

"In order to adopt a competent resolution, it is necessary to consider a constitution of the Mordovian Republic, a law on amendments and addenda to this constitution, which introduced an institute of presidency, and a law on abolishing it. It is necessary to have a verdict passed by the Russian Constitutional Court, since the problem does not merely concern Mordovia's constitution, but Russia's constitution as well, which has confirmed institutes of heads of administrations and presidency in republics," Mityukov said.

Nevertheless, deputies from the Council of the Republic, unlike their colleagues from the Council of Nationalities, had voted for the question to be considered by a joint session of the Russian Parliament.

The Council of the Republic has decided to discuss Russia's position in connection with a U.N. military action in Yugoslavia at the nearest joint session of the Russian Parliament.

Lawmaker Vladimir Isakov, who raised this question, said that a critical situation was shaping in Yugoslavia which poses a threat to international security, since NATO had extended its activities far beyond the zone specified in the agreement. Isakov described Russia's position on these developments as not clearly specified.

The Council of the Republic suggested putting on the parliament's agenda an issue of ensuring the right of Russian citizens staying abroad to take part in the 25 April referendum and hearing an account by the vice-president and the Russian prosecutor general on combating organized crime.

Khasbulatov on Personal Public Image, Yeltsin's Style

LD1704183993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 2004 GMT on 16 April broadcasts a 15-minute program entitled "Man of the Week," which takes the form of an interview with Russia's Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov by an unidentified correspondent.

Throughout the interview Khasbulatov is shown seated in an armchair answering questions about his life and views. Some voiceovers and screen captions give details of Khasbulatov's life and career.

Khasbulatov is asked whether he likes his public image. No, he replies, how could one like an artificial image? Biographical details of Khasbulatov are shown on screen.

Khasbulatov says he was disturbed by the wrong things he read about himself in the press. He recalls his schooldays when he and his family were "repressed" and other details of his early life. He says: "My schooldays and my childhood were rather difficult. We were evicted from the Caucasus in 1944 in very complicated conditions. Of course, we suffered deprivations and adversities. I lost my father. I don't remember him. My mother brought up four children. She was a milkmaid." A voiceover gives details of Khasbulatov's academic career.

Since his early years, Khasbulatov says, he has had no illusions about the system under which people lived in the Soviet Union. He did not cry on the day Stalin died. A voiceover says that in the 1980's he won some fame as a free-thinking journalist and was elected a people's deputy in 1990. In 1992 he won the speaker's chair in a difficult battle with Sergey Baburin, current leader of the opposition.

As for the role of politics in his life, Khasbulatov says that for him politics is "neither a vocation, nor game, nor dirty business. For me it is a cruel and severe necessity. Honestly, if at the last congress the deputies had implemented their original intention and released me from the post, I probably would have felt some inner relief. I could have told myself that I wanted to do good and I could have told the people: I want to do good but now you can see I have been released from my post. I see my role as the person who has a very difficult task or function of reconciling hostile camps in order to achieve accord."

As a professional economist, Khasbulatov says that he had foreseen the dire results of the economic reforms of Burbulis and others. He says: "From the beginning of the year, when we had long discussions with Gaydar, Burbulis, and the president, I tried to prove that the model they wanted to implement in the economy would lead to the results we are enjoying at present. I said this in January or February as a professional economist and as a person who knows about the market economy and who knows various concepts well."

As for his disagreement with the president, Khasbulatov says:

"Six months ago I began to notice a certain dictatorial tendency on the president's part. I could not keep silent. I have already experienced it once and I know that it means an oblast committee's or party committee's style of work. We all know this very well. I can see the elements of regeneration. That's why I am sounding the alarm in the hope that real democrats will support this concern."

Asked whether he is against the presidency, he says: "This is not true. On the contrary, I am against revising the presidency. Democratic state institutions should be

strengthened and encouraged in all possible ways. On the other hand, personalities should not be extolled."

At the end of the program, Khasbulatov says: "I hope the president will eventually see the real conditions in which people live. He still believes that almost 90 percent adore and support him, and that only the Supreme Soviet reactionaries who elected him president do not like him, while the whole country feels great love and cannot live without him. Unfortunately, he has this belief because I know for sure and I can tell you that objective information never reaches him. People are afraid of giving him objective information. He doesn't like objective information. Objective information annoys him. He lives in a world of illusions which he himself and his imagination paint. It seems to me this referendum will be very useful for him."

Captions show the results of an opinion poll carried out by the Public Opinion Foundation in March on the level of trust the population has in various leaders, which is as follows:

Yeltsin	41 percent
Rutskoy	25 percent
Chernomyrdin	18 percent
Zorkin	17 percent
Khasbulatov	11 per cent

The final question is: What do you read, apart from special literature?

Khasbulatov replies: "Byron. Sonnets."

Khasbulatov Views Army, Economy, Politics

PM1504165593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Apr 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Russia Is a Great Power, and It Must Have a Strong Army"]

[Text] [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Ruslan Imranovich, recently forces have emerged which talk persistently about some kind of special role which the Army should supposedly play at a certain moment. Do you know what I am talking about?..

[Khasbulatov] Yes. And you know, I greatly dislike this talk. I greatly dislike pressure on the military and attempts to subordinate them to certain influential forces. At the Congress and in the Supreme Soviet I have repeatedly stressed that there is the constitution and under the constitution the Army performs its duty precisely to the constitution. That is all. There can be no question of any kind of devotion of the Army to particular individuals in a democratic state. If we are serious politicians, we must primarily do everything to ensure that the Army is not entrusted with functions that do not properly belong to it.

At the same time I would not want to belittle the Army's role in society. We are a strong, huge country, and we must have a strong Army. You can see for yourself that, despite the grave situation in the economy, the Supreme Soviet pays very great attention to the Army's problems. For instance, just recently within a short time we have adopted six previously unparalleled laws regulating practically all aspects of army life.

That is not to say that everything is hunky-dory. To be frank, I was very unhappy with the decision to shorten the deadlines for the withdrawal of our troops from Germany because I am well aware that there is at present essentially nowhere to withdraw them to. We are leaving around 400 camps in Germany, and in exchange the Germans promised to build us around 30. I do not know how many have been built, but I know for a fact that it is under half.

And once again troops are being withdrawn to densely populated areas where the Army is already living either out in the open, or in overcrowded barracks. Can such decisions be described as sensible?

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What makes us act this way? Neither the affluent French nor the prosperous Americans have any intention of hastily leaving Germany.

[Khasbulatov] I cannot understand it either. Especially as clear agreements were reached about this. Back at the start of last year I tried to persuade Chancellor Kohl: No pressure should be exerted, the situation is very complex, and neither they nor we will be able to solve all the problems at once. At the time I thought that mutual understanding had been reached...

Or take another point. I have already mentioned that we are handing over around 400 camps, airfields, dumps, and so forth to the Germans. Those are huge material assets. Our specialists calculated that we should get something like 10 billion marks for the lot. During the talks the Germans agreed to 6 billion. But eventually there emerged some strange agreements whereby we are owed nothing. Moreover, we are withdrawing the troops four months earlier than the agreed deadline. It is annoying.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Incidentally, a few words about the Western Group of Forces. A number of newspapers have carried reports about alleged cases of corruption unmasked there. What can you say about this?

[Khasbulatov] All these facts were investigated by a commission sent by the president. A parliamentary commission also worked in the Western Group. The Prosecutor's Office is conducting an investigation. But I do not like the attempt by some forces to seek only negative aspects in everything, I do not like the attempts to portray the mercenary actions of a narrow group of individuals as a characteristic feature of the entire Army. This ploy is equally used by both extreme left-wing and extreme right-wing forces. They are both destroyers, in my view.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What is your place in the political spectrum?

[Khasbulatov] I am a centrist. I have still not abandoned my ideas of a proper democratic state, with checks and balances between the different branches of power and with an effective president, an effective parliament, and an effective and autonomous government. This is necessary in order to ensure that Russia is a prosperous and great power with strong positions in the modern world. For instance, I have twice visited Arab countries. In Egypt I met with the president and the high command. And you know, they recall with real longing and even nostalgia the seventies, when they studied in our academies, and they bluntly ask: Has Russia no longer any strategic interests in the Arab world? It was rather difficult to answer them.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] But let us return to army problems. So far as I am aware, the view was current even in parliament that the Army should be switched almost entirely to the fight against crime and used to impose order in the streets. What is your view of this?

[Khasbulatov] This is an absurd view! The Army has a totally different function; it must be prepared to defend the fatherland. The fight against crime should be the job of specially trained people who know procedural norms and the law and ultimately know how to do this. The Army is totally ill-adapted to fighting crime. Troop subunits should not even be used to patrol the streets.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Ruslan Imranovich, there is the certainty that anyone who has spent some time in high posts forgets what the people's life is like and judges this only on the basis of reports, which, moreover, are not always sincere. So, returning to our subject, do you know what the life of the military in our country is really like?

[Khasbulatov] I have visited practically all military districts and met not only with generals and officers but also with soldiers. In addition, huge numbers of people come to see me in my office and I receive huge numbers of letters. I would not say that I am among the category of people who have little idea of the situation in the country as a whole and the Army in particular.

An interesting situation has developed in the economy in our country. All that is working is the distribution mechanism whereby millions, indeed billions are pumped out of the state budget in favor of commercial structures. But I long warned of the possibility of such monstrous phenomena if we subscribed to the economic model which we now have. I warned Boris Nikolayevich, Gaydar, and Burbulis of this. But they did not listen to me. But I am not just the speaker of parliament but an economist who has studied the market economy all his life.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Fine, I would like to take this opportunity to talk with you as a professional economist. What was your specific view of the decision that in practice placed the distribution sphere in private hands?

[Khasbulatov] I did not immediately mount the rostrum and begin to criticize. That happened only after all possibilities of persuasion in personal, individual, private, and other conversations had been exhausted. Even back then I realized that prices would go up not three times as promised, but hundreds of times. I realized that there would be no stabilization by the middle of 1992. Those were mere promises.

Even today there is slyness. The situation has stabilized, they say, we are moving toward growth, it is just that parliament is inflaming passions. But no, unfortunately there is a decline in production and it will continue, because there are no sources of growth. Because there are fewer and fewer commodity producers who are interested in expanding their range of goods and the volume of output sales. It is simpler and more profitable to increase prices.

In short, there is not even the basis for stabilization at present. Since it is not there, what is the point of deceiving people. The situation is complex. For instance, I know that the directors of many defense enterprises are performing downright miracles of inventiveness in order to preserve the social sphere and preserve their collectives and in order to avoid closing shops where high-technology production has been organized. And they are by no means seeking to produce only tanks. Moreover, they have already carried out conversion virtually independently and have organized the production of civilian output. I repeat, these are very inventive, competent specialists, and they should only be helped. Instead of this they are being doomed to perish on the grounds that they are allegedly not needed.

But just you think what will happen to people and what will be the fate of our modern technologies. After all, we possess very many modern technologies, especially in the defense industry and machine building. Our technologies are superior to both Japanese and American technologies. It is simply that we have been told that we have nothing and that we are very backward.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] You claim that the reforms have been implemented on the basis of a scenario which you did not support at the very outset and do not support now. What is your own concept of that scenario?

[Khasbulatov] I am not an original thinker and do not claim that I had any outstanding ideas. But, insofar as I have dealt with the market and capitalist economies, I have a good idea of where Gaydar got his ideas from. He embraced the ideas of the Chicago School, which completely deny the role of the state.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Have the Chicago School's ideas ever been used anywhere?

[Khasbulatov] Even where "shock therapy" was applied, the state's role was not reduced in the way it has been in

our country. I myself opposed for many years the giant ministerial structures which prevented enterprises from flourishing, but this does not mean that all administrative organs must necessarily be utterly destroyed.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Ruslan Imranovich, do you recall the slogans which were proclaimed at the dawn of perestroyka? We were told that we needed millions of property owners, that a rich man was a good man, and so forth. Isn't this why we are now talking at an all-Russia level about corruption in the top spheres of power, and why many state officials invariably want to get rich?

[Khasbulatov] When it was proclaimed that a rich man is invariably a good man—even the best kind of man—no restrictions were placed on that. Nobody asked just how that wealth might be acquired. Nobody is against rich people, but it is important to known the sources of their income. In the West, for instance, businessmen enjoy very high prestige. They can be billionaires three times over, but it if emerges that even some of that money was earned dishonestly, such businessmen will find access to polite society denied them. And it has to be admitted that the lifting of the taboo on the rapid acquisition of wealth has been a cause of the moral decline not only of many economic leaders, but of politicians too. I am now told that it is very hard to find an official for virtually any post who is not involved one way or another in some kind of dealings. This is a social tragedy! Everything has started to be bought and sold. The only difference is the price. And dirty money does terrible things to people—it destroys their morals, lowers their standards, and boosts the crime rate, particularly among juveniles. You know, what is happening to us is just plain scary...

Incidentally, going back to the Army's problems, I received a letter from a soldier's wife. It made be shudder when I read it. She wrote that she had had to become a streetwalker. Life had forced her into it. So how can I close my eyes and claim that everything's fine and that what we are doing benefits the people?

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] As is well known, the Union was a great power. What about now? What is the attitude to us in the world today? Have you felt on your trips abroad that our standing has declined?

[Khasbulatov] Of course I have. And it hurts me, but we have been destroying our own standing ourselves. What is the point of the $1.6 billion promised by Clinton, if $20 billion ends up in the West every year? This is the same old story as the famous $24 billion.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] You know, Ruslan Imranovich, I get the impression that the results of the coming referendum will be of no great importance if we mainly use printing presses to form our budget...

[Khasbulatov] Indeed, all branches of power must now work together. Nonetheless, I hope that the president and government will find the courage to sit down with the leaders of parliament at a "roundtable"—or it could even be square!—and jointly decide which priority measures should be taken. We need to meet and quickly draw up a concrete action program aimed at saving the state, the fatherland, and our people.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Ruslan Imranovich, I would like to hear whether you have estimated what the result of the referendum will be. What can we expect after the vote? Many people are currently speculating as to what will happen if a certain number of "yes's" or "no's" are crossed out.

[Khasbulatov] I do not want to advise anyone about what to cross out. Everyone should vote as their conscience dictates—only they should think very hard beforehand.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] It has to be said that people continue to have the idea of unification—if not on the previous scale, at least within the framework of Russia. But this requires a powerful unifying idea, such as the Americans once had, or the Japanese and Germans who managed to rebuild their countries literally from the ashes. Do you have any proposals on that score?

[Khasbulatov] We have already implemented such an idea. Back in March last year, on the eve of the Sixth Congress, when the Federation Treaty was signed. Were it not for this treaty—later enshrined in the Constitution—I do not think our country would still exist. It is thanks to this idea that the unity and national integrity of Russia have been preserved during such an uneasy period.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Ruslan Imranovich, the corps of deputies has been increasingly frequently accused of neo-bolshevism of late, including references to the fact that the last Congress' decisions were supported by procommunist parties.

[Khasbulatov] That is the first I have heard of procommunist parties supporting the Congress. Of course, I keep track of different parties' decisions, but not to that extent. Now, as to the corps of deputies, it would be naive to claim that it has become bolshevik in outlook. Quite the opposite has happened. Deputies have become more mature, they have begun to get a better understanding of politics and economics, and have realized just what democracy actually means. In short, they have begun to take a more professional view of many things. Hence the revision of our populist [narodnicheskiy], sometimes pseudorevolutionary ideas that everything could be achieved overnight. As a result, there has been a shift to the center. And the people left on the extremes—of both left and right—are destructive. That is why I would say this—there has not been any procommunist reorientation among deputies. On the contrary, there has been a cooling in the attitude of both society and the corps of deputies toward all parties. And parliament is now less procommunist than ever.

Abdulatipov on Political Crisis, Referendum

PM1904084593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Apr 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, by Viktor Shirokov; place and date not given: "Ramazan Abdulatipov: 'We Serve Russia...'"]

[Text] Russia is once more at a crossroads and, like the folk tale hero of ancient times, is racking its brain: "Turn to the left?... Turn to the right?..." How long will this go on? It is as if some kind of evil fate has us in its grip. When will Russia finally take the path which will mean that both the hero's life and his horse will be saved. Could the forthcoming referendum suggest the answer?

Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, answers our correspondent's questions on the eve of the nationwide poll.

[Shirokov] Ramazan Gadzhimuradovich, the Russian home is shaking, cracks are appearing along its walls. What is actually happening? Why? How can we rebuild it into a single monolithic structure?

[Abdulatipov] Our society and country are among the richest, primarily in terms of the human potential's parameters. Just think about it—there are 160 original peoples, cultures, and traditions beneath a single roof. This is an asset and not a shortcoming, as some people claim.

Unfortunately, people who are now by dint of fate at the summit of Russian statehood and who ought to be imbued with responsibility for this tremendous potential have not always lived up to their task. What is actually happening? One of these politicians declares out of the blue that the Constitution currently in force is not mandatory for him. Another politician adopts a scornful attitude toward the Federation Treaty, a document that is perhaps the first of its kind in Russia's history, according to which people have expressed their desire to live in peace, friendship, and good neighborly relations, having divided among themselves the powers of authority at all levels and in a civilized manner. Yet another politician claims that our country's entire history is accursed, drowned in blood. A fourth politician believes that all moral values were developed thousands of years before our time and, consequently, everything developed by the Russians in this plane is of no significance whatsoever. What is being imposed upon Russia is not self-awareness but zombiism. A newly hatched revolutionary declared a few days ago that "We are absolutely sterile as regards the legacy of the past." This is terrifying.

Much is being said about state policy, but we have simply failed to discover the innermost foundations on which a state is shaped and built. For as long as revolutionary turmoil and revolutionary struggle are being imposed on Russia, we will have no time for creative work.

We have discredited the thesis of deideologization. I realize that this can still be discussed in the sense of some sort of unambiguous party ideology. This must be overcome. Whenever a state is left without any ideas whatsoever, without any lofty goals, this kind of deideologization could produce and is producing a total collapse for the people, a spiritual and moral degradation, signs of which can be already seen today. The people must not be turned into a herd, even though it is, of course, much easier to dupe them when they are in this condition.

Nowadays we are being endlessly, over and over again, threatened with Russia's disintegration. I personally would express thanks to its people for the fact that they, without listening to many of today's politicians, are still acting on the basis of the reciprocal attraction and reciprocal respect that existed within the Russian area itself. This is the only reason why the Federation Treaty was signed. No other arguments can be adduced today to prove that the peoples have rallied around the federal center. The federal center lacks a common idea, it lacks pure morality, it lacks a convincing economic policy, it lacks the due attention for national cultures and traditions. Even attractive leaders are lacking. And yet, even in these conditions, the peoples have actually rallied around Russia and within Russia!

We still have to analyze this phenomenon. This is what we should be doing instead of ranting in the "democratic" newspapers, claiming that someone somewhere in Siberia or Bashkortostan is not behaving properly. When I speak about the destruction of statehood, I do not mean, for example, Chechnya which has not signed the Federation Treaty or Tatarstan which supposedly intends to withdraw from it, even though it appears that, in actual fact, it does not intend to withdraw from anything but is aiming for self-preservation in the midst of all this confusion. These are the stereotypes being imposed on our society. In this sense, Russia will never disintegrate. Russia can only disintegrate from within, from its core, from the backbone of its statehood. This is where Russia is being ruined. People are not running away from Russia, they are running away from the unpredictable policy pursued by those at the federal summit.

This destruction is promoted primarily by the artificial clash between the executive and the legislative or representatives branches of power. Just imagine the two hands—the right and the left—having joined in combat and hammering away at the head, at the unified state authority. As a result of this clash, society is suffering from concussion of the brain, when the normal state authority is not allowed to either think, or take shape, or assert itself. Give Russian statehood a chance to assert itself and you will find in your hands a mighty lever for the implementation of human reforms.

But by destroying state authority we are destroying people's faith in the law as such.

Seeing the president or a deputy "overthrowing" the Constitution almost daily, is there any kind of law in which man ought to have faith? If a law adopted by the Supreme Soviet means absolutely nothing to top politicians, how can you force the man in the street to obey this document?

Furthermore, the smoke screen about the separation of powers is used by the president's entourage and the so-called "independent" press to intensively cultivate the ideals and values of leaderist democracy which, as we may recall, is typical of societies at the stage of transition from tribal to feudal development. The stage when all the laws and all the responsibility for the laws are vested in charismatic leaders, in demigods.

Khasbulatov is a man dedicated to Russian statehood. People are even beginning to use his ethnic origin in the struggle against him which, you must agree, is totally out of order. I recently met some Chechens, and this is what they said: Yes, we are proud of Khasbulatov, but he is not a Chechen, he is more of a Russian, a Russian statesman. I, for example, am an Avar, but so what? We all serve Russia, not on the basis of nationality principles but on the basis of the belief that only the firmness of Russian statehood and the prosperity of the Russian people can give prosperity and an opportunity for revival to all our republics and to all peoples.

[Shirokov] So, the time has come for us to take a stand and, maybe, the idea of holding the referendum will actually work to consolidate the state and its legal and social "pillars?"

[Abdulatipov] I disagree with you on this point. First of all—at the risk of sounding excessively sharp—today's politicians who destroyed the Union had absolutely no right to even mention the word "referendum." Be it the president or individual parliamentarians. They did not have the moral right because they have demonstrated that the people's will as expressed in the 1991 referendum means absolutely nothing to them. I fear that the people's will itself is again sinking into the mire of demagoguery, into the swamp, that it will be driven into the ground and ignored—provided, of course, someone does not find some use for it to promote selfish and temporizing interests.

Only people who have lost their sense of responsibility to their own people and the fatherland's statehood could insist on some sort of referendum about confidence or lack of confidence, about approval or disapproval, at a time when the people are impoverished and the fatherland is plundered. It is obvious in advance that there is nothing special to approve. Therefore, the referendum has been set in motion as a political lever for yet another move to dupe and deceive people. Without honoring the results of one referendum, they have conceived another one. In actual fact, everything is being done to discredit a very important mechanism for direct expression of the people's will.

I am convinced that the republics, krays, and oblasts do not need this referendum. They—with minor exceptions—have repeatedly declared this. Those who prompted Boris Nikolayevich to bank on a referendum in such a multinational state should have considered the presidential election results. After all, the president of the Russian Federation was virtually not elected in republics like North Ossetia and Tuva, let alone Tatarstan and Bashkortostan. Had their leaderships consisted of people who really backed the separatist aspirations, they could have said that all of the president's actions regarding these republics are illegal. But they have not said this—out of respect for Russia and its peoples, out of respect for Russian statehood.

But people can get—and are already getting—sick and tired of this political gamesmanship. People at local level are beginning to think that there is nothing to be expected from the federal center, that they must tackle their own affairs by themselves and autonomously solve their own problems. The federal authority is losing its prestige. The traditional Russian commitment to and respect for Moscow (regardless of who might be in power there) are disappearing, even though Moscow today is the last place to deserve such respect. This is because lately Moscow has been endlessly imposing on the Russian people sundry schizophrenic revolutions and all sorts of emergency situations. And the regions are no longer willing to remain hostages to this political schizophrenia.

[Shirokov] Be that as it may, the referendum will be held and the important point now is to monitor it, block any machinations by dishonest people, and prevent any possible rigging.

[Abdulatipov] This does not worry me so much. Ultimately, monitoring is in the hands of electoral commissions, the public, and the Central Electoral Commission. I am worried by something else. Recently I had a conversation with specialists who expressed their belief that **the mind's critical capacity has been reduced to the utmost** in society today. Massive brainwashing by the media has eroded the capacity to perceive reality critically and sensibly. Myths carried by newspapers, television, and radio are beginning to replace reports about the real condition of society and the state. This is a tragedy for public awareness.

Everything is being done today to dupe people yet again. Parliament is depicted as a monster which wants to devour the president. The opposition is just as bad in its treatment of the president. The official leadership—and the executive structures in particular, and the opposition alike take their cue from the thesis: "The worse matters get, the better it will be." This is already a tragedy for the

people since this confrontation destroys Russian statehood and the sovereignty and dignity of the Federation's peoples.

To put it briefly, it is difficult to expect any objective results from the referendum in these conditions.

[Shirokov] Ye-e-s, your forecast is certainly not optimistic. Nonetheless....

[Abdulatipov] Before conceiving the referendum, some thought should have been given to its consequences. Since the congress failed to clearly and precisely define all aspects of a possible interpretation of the referendum results, I feel that the outcome will be nothing more than an "interpretation" of these results. No matter what the results may be, each of the sides will interpret them to its own advantage. This is because there are no criteria against which to judge the results of the nationwide ballot.

It seems to me that the referendum will be appraised not in the context of developing the constitutional process and strengthening the Russian Federation, but in the context of political rivalry between the different centers of power. These centers are nowadays to be found not only in Moscow but also in the Russian Federation's republics, krays, and oblasts. One of the referendum's results could be the further weakening of federal authority and its transfer to local level. Generally speaking, there is nothing bad in this. As long as things do not go too far, as long as things are not overdone. Just like a sudden shift of a ship's cargo could lead to a dangerous list, Russian statehood could also topple over.

[Shirokov] Seamen call this keeling over, when the keel gets on top, upside-down....

[Abdulatipov] Let us hope the referendum does not produce a keeling over. Almost three years were spent to bring the Federation Treaty together by bits and fragments, and yet the accord could be destroyed by just one single blow. We must not ignore the existence of separatist forces, either. The referendum could jolt them into stepping up their actions. Today's equilibrium is so fragile that the tiniest slip could disrupt it. After all, it took a lot of work to get the Republic of Tuva to accept the present situation, we eliminated numerous contradictions, and we launched a socioeconomic development program. Gradual and patient work was done. It has yielded its fruit—no matter how many times the question of the right to secede from the Federation was raised at its parliament, it did not get through. But as soon as B. Yeltsin delivered his 20 March address, 107 deputies out of 112 immediately voted for the right to secede. Because there is no longer any trust in the central authority.

It is clear that people at local level are already fed up with daily criticism, destructive exposures, and reciprocal accusations. Take for example the games being played with the Cossacks, which have agitated the entire Northern Caucasus so much. After all, we did have the Supreme Soviet decree on the Cossacks' rehabilitation. We should implement it. Actually, we have been and still are preparing hearings about the way this decree is implemented by the government. But no, we end up with some "KGB-style," "militarized" decree which destabilizes the situation and banks on exciting the extremist Cossacks. Nobody has heard anything about its preparation—neither parliament, nor its commissions, nor the State Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs. But someone evidently does need these games....

It must be noted in general that the referendum card is now also being played in their own interests by forces which, on the surface, appear to be working for the president. But he does not seem to realize this. He is constantly being told: It is necessary to disband the Supreme Soviet and the congress. But let us look back on England's history, Cromwell. He also proposed to disband the conservative and reactionary parliament, to hold fresh parliamentary elections. He got his new parliament, and then what happened? To put it somewhat crudely, it bashed in Cromwell's own head.

We must not forget that a group of politicians with enormous claims is now outside the political mainstream. Look specifically at the interregional group which existed in the Union corps of deputies. They broke down and crushed the Union expecting that they would automatically qualify for cushy jobs at the helm of power. No way. For various reasons, Boris Nikolayevich kept away from them. I mean Gavriil Popov and Starovoytova, who initially seemed to be given access to the "helm" but were later driven away. I also mean Yuriy Afanasyev, Sobchak....

I am convinced that if these associates of Yeltsin's were elected to the new parliament they would devour the president—not like us, they would gobble him up down to the last tiny bone and morsel....

[Shirokov] Let us assume that an answer has been given as regards early elections. What about confidence in the socioeconomic policy of the president and his team?

[Abdulatipov] Radio and television are choking on their claims about the reforms' success. How can we talk about victory and the people's prosperity when, according to experts' estimates, we need to invest 10 years of normal, stable, and coordinated work to bring the economy back to its 1985 level?

Ordinary people have been totally fleeced and their situation will hardly improve in the next few years. Whereas the property of expropriators was expropriated back in 1917, now we have seen a total requisition of the people's savings. I have an aunt in Dagestan, already elderly and disabled. She had put 560 rubles [R] aside for a rainy day, and kept worrying: Will it be enough for her funeral so that everything is done properly. I was in a position to help, I gave her an extra R1,000 so that she did not have to suffer. Then the "liberalization" [of prices] dawned, and how far will these R1,500 go now?

They keep drumming into everybody's ears reports about the triumphal march of privatization. But what is actually happening? Dagestan, for example, has been forced to suspend privatization. Why? Simply because a total of 321 facilities were privatized yielding just R180 million. Just a single one of our billionaire merchants, who have well and truly lined their pockets with state credits which are almost given away, is in a position to acquire all these facilities wholesale.

Yegor Timurovich Gaydar was quite fond of the slogan: "The government is departing from the economy." Not only from the economy, it has departed from the state! It let everything drop and departed. All this talk about liberalization and freedom of enterprise has simply fizzled out. I know an entrepreneur in the city of Vidnoye near Moscow. He fitted his leather products enterprise with first-class equipment, he employs 800 persons, everyone is earning well. Their sewing work is excellent—they have a store in Paris, on the Champs Elysees. So he asks me: What are you lot doing? You are throttling the producer. I cannot obtain credit even for a year or two to build a new shop. I am left with just 12-15 percent of profits, all the rest is grabbed away in taxes. How do I develop?

But rogues, on the other hand, get hold of credit freely. One of my relatives in Dagestan, a really skilled builder, suddenly told me: "Ramazan, could you not help me out with some credit?" I said: " Why should you need credit? You are such a master of your work, think of the things you can build!" Apparently his neighbor, an idle man, obtained credit to supposedly set up a private farm and made a fortune from Snicker bars. It will take me more than a year on construction sites, my relative told me, to earn as much as that good-for-nothing makes out of speculations in just one month. Nor, incidentally, does he intend to repay the credit, he is convinced: "They will write it off. They have always written off in our country." And, you know, it will be written off.... We are corrupting the people instead of leading them to a civilized market.

How can we talk about liberalization when nowadays an honest worker, a producer finds himself under unbearable tax pressure while scoundrels are given scope for machinations. As a matter of fact, the soviets today are being dealt blows only because those at the helm fear any possible monitoring by them. According to specialists' estimates, there are about 200 persons in the country today who could influence privatization, the sale of resources, and the distribution of foreign currency. But the level of production is dropping day by day, including that for raw material extraction, and foreign currency revenues are declining. This is why the struggle today is waged in order the halve the number of persons with an opportunity to earn foreign currency and distribute such earnings among "their own" people.

Why is there such a fierce struggle waged against parliament? Because some sort of agreement on a personal basis can still be achieved within the executive structures, and suitable mechanisms have already been developed. It is, however, impossible to buy off everyone in parliament or congress—these are collective organs and a "bomb" of revelations could explode when least expected. But they cannot live in such uncertainty, they want a guaranteed future so as to be able to continue plundering the country and the people without hindrance. These wheeler-dealers want to load the new parliament with their own people who have been bought in advance. Believe you me, they will not be protecting the interests of kolkhoz members and workers....

To conclude our conversation, I would like to say this: I nourish the hope that even after the referendum—no matter what its results might be—the Russian Federation's unity and integrity will be preserved and people will at long last grasp the essence of the policy being pursued at the top today, their eyes will open and they will learn how to elect honest deputies and honest leaders who have the people's interests at heart. Everything depends on the people, no matter what we say. Everything is in the people's hands. Let their common sense prevail.

Regional Affairs

Khasbulatov Working Visits to Regions Continues

Speaks in St. Petersburg

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[Speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov at St. Petersburg Polytechnical University; date not given: "Ruslan Khasbulatov: Choosing a Policy Means Choosing a Future"]

[Text] Esteemed friends! Each of you is bound to be pondering the following question: What is happening in the country? How are we to carry on living? What lies in store for the country, and what will happen to each one of you when you become an engineer, designer, scientific worker, or high-ranking manager?

On the one hand, you think in terms of the future, the 21st century, and new, progressive technologies. Clearly you are bound to be fascinated by breakthroughs into uncharted territory.

It would be easier for me to talk about these alluring impulses and general laws or the academic aspect of the problem. But there is also another side to the coin, the prosaic side of life as it were. Our country and its economy have ended up in a state of extremely grave, systemic crisis—something that is threatening to force Russia into the background of civilization and threatening to develop into collapse.

Obviously you are bound to be asking yourselves the question: How has Russia ended up in this situation?

Who is to blame and what is to be done?—these are questions that are traditionally asked by the Russian intelligentsia.

What Has Happened in Politics?

You know that state policy is a leading factor in social development. It represents a kind of genetic code, whereby processes pertaining to the state's economic, political, scientific, technical, spiritual, and military-defense activity develop. It is no coincidence that people say that choosing a policy means choosing a future—for both the state and its citizens.

When we embarked on forming a democratic state, we dreamed of the kind of policy that would embody the desire for freedom, assert human rights, and ensure economic prosperity and law and order in society.

Regrettably, things have in actual fact by no means turned out like that in our country.

Who could have imagined that the building of a democratic Russia might bring about the breakup of the Union state, the destruction of the unified economic organism that the peoples had developed, and an increase in disunity, never mind the emergence of confrontation in society? Needless to say, neither did we entertain the idea that the kind of impoverishment of the people that we have now was possible, that our interests could be subordinated to the interests of other states, that there could be general national humiliation, seen in the obvious intellectual inadequacy of those whose task is to form state policy.

Why has this happened?

This happened because a comparatively small party of so-called radical democrats succeeded for a number of reasons in imposing their narrow egoistical interests on society. They made it their main aim not to boost the economy, but to create a new social group of nouveaux riches who, according to their plan, should have been the mainstay of an authoritarian regime based on personal power. Their actions still further aggravated the economic crisis and brought about legal anarchy, jeopardizing the shoots of democracy and civil rights, as well as people's right to life. This virtually smacks of neo-Bolshevik policy! It proved ruinous to true reform and the country's future.

It is no accident that the people who opened the way to this policy could not bring themselves to discuss it with the people or in parliament, but introduced it on the spur of the moment, confronting the people with tough and brutal measures. In no democratic state are reforms implemented by this dictatorial method—contrary not only to the law, moreover, but also the experience of other countries and commonsense logic.

The Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies are to blame for granting one man such power in the very beginning. However, the Supreme Soviet and the Congress, which are responsible under the Constitution for shaping the state's policy, criticized from the outset the means and methods used for the "reform" begun in 1992, put forward a constructive program for economic reform and state building, and asked the president and the government for a fundamental change of policy so as to reform the economy in a way that would provide all forms of economic activity with opportunities for equal development and social protection for the population.

However, we did not succeed in ensuring that the executive abandoned this bankrupt course. And this is helping to increase social tension in society, as well as to increase confrontation and the danger of a switch to violent means of struggle—which would be catastrophic for the country.

We must all realize that a new, constructive policy is needed, a policy that would be supported by most people, a policy that would be their own, not something imposed on them, something that people find incomprehensible and alien. It would constitute a basis for national and civil accord in society, for strengthening the Federation, developing initiative from the regions, and forming a rule-of-law civil society.

Crisis of Statehood

The current situation is characterized above all by a crisis of Russian statehood, manifest within the system of organs of state power, within the economy, within the national-state system, and within the political regime.

The crisis of Russian statehood in general is viewed with particular pain by the country's population.

A state's prestige is manifest above all in the prestige of organs of state power. The population's confidence in the organs of authority is extremely low now. What are the underlying reasons for the authorities' inability to ensure the effective governance of society?

Primarily, their extremely poor consideration of the interests existing in society when adopting decisions pertaining to fundamental issues of public life. The executive acts as one man embodied in a narrow group of individuals and is objectively incapable of interpreting and synthesizing the full complexity of society's interests.

Observers have already noted that no major, serious, constructive proposal from the presidential side or the government has been rejected by the parliament. On the other hand, laws that have been adopted are inoperative. The main reason why these laws are not being implemented and are inoperative is feebleness on the part of the executive and the executive structures' inability to organize implementation of the laws.

Another point: The crisis of statehood has revealed constant antagonism on the part of executive organs of authority toward representative organs. This antagonism

undermines the prestige as well as the very idea of state power. We must all realize that there can be no victors in this struggle and that Russia, its multiethnic people, and the state stand to lose.

In this struggle the representative organs of power in the shape of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet are on the defensive, endeavoring to prevent the usurpation of power and trying to ensure constitutionality and consequently stability within the Russian Federation.

I do not think that anyone can be victorious in the coming referendum since a victory for one side means a defeat for state power. Consequently it may cost Russia very dear, since that victory can only be achieved via the downfall of the state system as such. Authority will be laid low once and for all.

What solution is there to the situation that has developed? There is a solution, and it is largely enshrined in the decisions adopted by the Eighth and Ninth Congresses of People's Deputies.

First, it involves the creation of a new representative body of authority, as proposed in the draft Constitution approved by the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies. Next, it means a change in the status of the president. As a nationally elected official the president must ensure the effective operation of all authorities, as head of state, but without being head of the executive.

Second, there must be a change in the procedure used to form the government so as to ensure that it is formed on the basis of a compromise among the main political and social forces and is not an auxiliary instrument in the hands of one person alone. It must be accountable to parliament alone.

Third, society must agree to implement the kind of measures that will create an appropriate political and state mechanism. We regarded and still do regard the early, simultaneous election of both the people's deputies and the president as the primary condition for the creation of such a mechanism.

Forces that were agreed in advance on their methods for escaping from the socioeconomic and political crisis would then be concentrated in the representative organ of power, the executive structures, and possibly in local organs too. This notorious conflict of authorities would disappear, including the conflict between the executive authorities themselves. Alongside the constitutional government a presidential administration has now been set up and has developed from an auxiliary, technical apparatus into a powerful system that has virtually usurped government functions.

The state's mechanisms, above all federative relations and the political regime, can be maintained and stabilized during this kind of reorganization. The state would gain an opportunity to tackle its security in a manner involving the Army and the citizens. Last, the very means of resolving the crisis would undergo a public examination as a result of the elections.

That is the point: A scant minority of people "chosen" at the leader's whim should not be the ones in command of the majority of the population and directing the state. The majority should decide what is needed to rescue all Russia. That is why new elections either at the end of the year or at any rate no later than spring 1994 may be the only way out of the situation in which we find ourselves today.

These transformations have objectively been secured through suffering over a period of time, and they must come into the world as a result of gradual constitutional transformations and the advent of a new wave of politicians—needless to say, not the politicians of the criminal type who are regrettably starting to hold important posts in our political regime.

The country must realize that, given the loss of stability (which is the main component ensuring the success of any reforms), reforms can only be implemented using the softly-softly approach [tekhnologii myagkogo vstraivaniya]. It is not sharp braking or backward movement or another spasmodic change of course but a softly-softly approach that is the only possible means of implementing reforms. Otherwise there will be total collapse and dollar genocide, which corrodes state institutions.

There are no enemies in our homeland for us, for the Supreme Soviet, for its leadership. We believe that there can be no turning back the clock, we believe that we need reforms. But reforms that do not impoverish the bulk of the population. We have a program that would not divide but unite people.

This program ranks first the fight against crime and the bandit formations that effectively represent the social base for those political forces currently in opposition to the Supreme Soviet and to healthy forces within the corps of deputies and the government—something manifested at the end of March in both the capital and a number of parts of the country.

The fight against crime constitutes a strategic area of reform. It is a test of the Cabinet's competence. To date our government has failed to achieve results in this area. Yet Belarus has set a positive example: The parliament's decisions on defending the population's economic security, accompanied by real steps on the government's part, brought about a drastic change in the population's attitude to the government. It was only after people started to be sacked for corruption, with penalties applied against the corrupt officials' property, and illegal associations began to be shut down, etc that positive trends in strengthening the state began to prevail in Belarus and confidence in the parliament and government rose.

Economic Reforms

The young Russian democracy emerged to the slogan of implementing economic transformations based on destroying the authoritarian system, liberating production forces, and boosting creative energy and spiritual potential.

However, as has repeatedly been the case throughout history, the potential for destruction proved stronger than the energy of construction. It was already clear to us then that we should have brought Russia into a civilized market and built a socially oriented economy in which a person acquires all the benefits of contemporary civilization though his own labor and enterprise.

Russia should have entered the general course of world economic ties while preserving its specific Russian character and mentality.

But fascination with the unruly forces of the actual struggle and the poetics of revolutionary action that flouts constitutional legality has once again played a cruel joke in Russian history.

The people kept quiet in their confusion, and the politicians perceived this as approval. The upshot was that Russia inherited not only a cumbersome economic structure, but a structure that has now been mechanically torn apart and deprived of the quality that the former Union's unified national economic complex had.

And a team of experimenters fell upon the ailing body of the Russian economy with the pseudorevolutionary task of breathing new life into it within a matter of months. They were bold with the knife, using no anesthetic. It is only the economy's tremendous reserves of stability and the Russian people's patience that are keeping the economy afloat.

I am deliberately not emphasizing the question of the extent to which each branch of our authority is to blame for the policy being implemented and its results. To be fair, I will once again point out that a year ago the Supreme Soviet followed by the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies loudly sounded the alarm, conducted an in-depth analysis of the socioeconomic situation and the ways of escaping from it, and raised the question of limiting the president's absolute power and strengthening the parliament's supervisory functions. Regrettably, it did not at the time prove possible to implement this policy.

If deputies at the Sixth Congress made any mistake in predicting how events would develop if the government's course were maintained, it was in underestimating the possible scale of the production decline, inflation, and particularly the scale of the decline in the population's living standards and the level of degradation.

Let us try to answer the question together: Are we not laying it on thick?

When you enter a student canteen, doesn't each of you have a feeling of humiliation as you try to keep within your meager budget? I do not doubt that many of you are finding a solution to the situation. But the resulting educational loss is far higher than in the recent past.

Let me get back to the question of just what we are going to do.

The formula for answering that question has largely been determined—by achieving an economic consensus pact between the main social forces which we managed to involve in discussions at the "roundtable" set up by joint decisions of the Supreme Soviet and the Russian Federation Government, as prescribed by the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies.

Paradoxically, a specific analysis shows that the differences between the Supreme Soviet and the presidential side on economic reform issues are insignificant. They are based not so much on different approaches as on political ambitions and a desire for one-man rule. Defining the corridor of consensus is an entirely realistic affair. But no, we have not gotten down to action—that is the problem, and that is why the failed course in the sphere of monetary and credit policy, the privatization of agriculture, science, education, and health care, and support for enterprise is being continued.

Literally the other day I met with a group of entrepreneurs, financiers, and bankers. We had an interesting discussion. The discussion participants stressed almost unanimously that everyone should do his own job—parliament should create the legislative basis for healthy enterprise, provide a legal base for production growth, and control social policy, while the government should find mechanisms for implementing the economic policy that has been worked out in conjunction with the parliament. One other demand from the entrepreneurs with which I am wholly in agreement is that there should be less politics and more professionalism. Professionalism is catastrophically lacking at all levels of administration. On the other hand there is a huge wave of bureaucracy that crushes and stifles everything.

On the eve of the coming referendum the president has notably increased his attention to questions of economic policy. This would have been welcome if the series of "edicts" clearly aimed at producing an effect had had any real impact on economic strategy rather than being just a tactical move.

The opponents of real, healthy transformations are trying to impose on society a scheme based on the simple alternatives of reform-counterreform, progress-reaction, and new quality-revenge. The word "revenge" is constantly repeated, intensified, and, clearly, will soon become hysterically loud.

We need to give a normal, civilized name to the Gaydar reforms. A name that everyone can understand. That name is Colombian-style Latin Americanization. I do not think I need to explain what this means. It will turn

the country into a raw-materials appendage of the industrial countries. That is the current reformers' strategy. I can cite figures. In the mid-sixties the Union's export structure was by no means favorable—22-23 percent of exports were finished goods, including machinery and equipment. In 1991, 18 percent of Union exports were finished goods, with Russia's share slightly higher at 25 percent. That was the starting point, yet in 1992 alone this proportion fell to 6 percent. Judge for yourselves: We are a colonial enclave of the industrial countries.

Preserving Scientific and Technical Potential

The "natural law of life" for any society is to preserve and augment its scientific and intellectual potential. Only by preserving it can society maintain hope of regeneration. Remember how, when he was surrounded and under fire in Egypt, Napoleon ordered: "Asses and scholars in the middle." Why? The asses carried the water and were needed if the troops were to move about the desert, the scholars were needed for the good of France.

Are we preserving our scientific potential? Unfortunately not. It is being catastrophically destroyed. There are a number of reasons for this.

The results of science are increasingly being introduced into a degrading domestic economy—there is neither the demand nor the resources for their introduction. But resources to purchase them exist in other countries.

A particularly severe blow has been dealt by the ill-considered conversion of the military-industrial complex as a reflection of the overall incompetent "high-handed management" [khozyaynichaniye] in the economy and production, and the abandonment of planning and forecasting, without which large systems cannot exist anywhere in the world.

As a result, the professions of scientist, lecturer, development specialist, and engineer are being increasingly devalued and becoming less and less prestigious in a society that measures itself by new values. Yet foreign firms are purposefully buying up the results of our research as well as our brains, ideas, and developments.

It can be said that society has not yet recognized the catastrophic consequences for its future of the destruction of scientific potential, or the fact that we cannot economize on science and education under these difficult conditions.

As a result, relative expenditure on these budget items has fallen sharply. Student grants were only increased in the fall of 1992 under the threat of strikes and under pressure from the Supreme Soviet. But, first, the past and coming increase in the grants and salaries of professionals and lecturers will only partly offset cost of living increases. Second, increasing the quality of education is not the main factor today. If the current generation of students is "lost" to science and production and dissolves into an environment of small traders, the damage to Russia will be irreparable.

What can be done right now for science and higher education?

First, we can and must preserve the existing schools engaged in research on fundamental problems in the natural and humanitarian sciences, refusing to economize on these items of expenditure. The savings in this area would not be very large anyway.

Second, we should not switch so directly to the principle of fee-paying in general and higher education. After all, this will cut off a considerable proportion of talented young people from knowledge, at a time when it is recognized around the world that investment in people and in knowledge is the most profitable investment of all. Where will a family get 1 million rubles to train their son or daughter?

Third, the implementation of all-state programs for the accelerated restructuring of the economy along selective progressive lines could give new impetus to scientific research.

On Reforms in Agriculture

All of us can see on the store shelves the results of "reform" in this sector of the national economy—particularly when it comes to the price tags. Suffice it to say that over the past two years prices of the main foodstuffs have increased 100-160 times over, and by far more in the main industrial centers.

What are the main reasons for such a lamentable state of affairs in the sphere of agricultural production? After all, the Second Congress of People's Deputies quite resolutely raised the issues of the need to create priority conditions for the development of the agro-industrial complex—restructuring fiscal policy to benefit the rural social sphere, ensuring budget financing and material and technical supplies for housing construction, and building production infrastructure projects. But these problems have still not been solved.

A great many mistakes have been made in this area. The reallocation of land has been launched with unjustifiable haste. There has been a huge, unbalanced exchange between town and country and huge price differentials. Instead of a market, we have seen to all intents and purposes the introduction of the forcible requisitioning of food, subsidies to agriculture have been cut sharply, and the procurement system has collapsed. Opportunistic methods prevail in the privatization of processing enterprises. All this could not fail to cause a sharp decline in agricultural production. This decline has reached 17 percent in stockraising over the past two years, while meat and milk production has virtually halved. If things continue in this vein, we will quite simply be facing a famine.

We are told that in order to change the situation we need to introduce private land ownership. But this is already legally enshrined in our Constitution, in the Land Code, and in the laws "On Ownership" and "On Land Reform." This issue (and to all intents and purposes we are talking about the free sale and purchase of land) is being raised not by those who work the land, but by those who have already illicitly acquired capital and now want to invest it in that most valuable of assets—land.

As for workers (both rural and urban), 19.3 million families—including 16 million urban families—received plots of land in 1991-92. Some 230,000 private farms were set up (these, incidentally, produce 4-5 percent of all agricultural produce). Peasant and private farms and small agricultural cooperatives have been allocated 10.9 million hectares of land. A fund has been set up for redistributing 15.8 million hectares of local soviet land. But this process should not be artificially accelerated.

What is the argument about? About the free sale and purchase of agricultural land and pastureland—there are temporary restrictions on this.

It is now a question not so much of ownership as of organization. Unfortunately we can see that the government, both now and in the past, has been clearly unwilling and unable to change its policy in the countryside. Yet we now need a profoundly well-thought-out system of state measures for reforming agrarian relations. It should, of course, also include a mechanism for creating new, innovative, and pioneering forms of economic land management. But, at the same time, it should not artificially destroy the framework of agricultural production. We also need a mechanism for tapping rural people's social activeness and ensuring that they are coparticipants in running production.

The qualitatively new concept of agrarian policy should assume the coexistence of various forms of land ownership, use, and forms of economic management.

We also need to rely on the experience of the transformations in the countryside in the early twenties. We need to intelligently combine the active introduction of market relations with state regulation—which is something that not a single civilized country can do without today.

And the Supreme Soviet will actively promote this by preparing and adopting the necessary legislative base.

Trends in CIS Development

The process of destroying the totalitarian system has left the states which emerged on the territory of the former Union facing new and sometimes unforeseen problems in the sphere of politics, economics, state construction, and social development.

An important feature of the creation of new national states has been the fact that this process has no deep historical or national-state traditions. The republics of the former Union—the Baltic states apart—did not have any national-state past. Hence the legitimization of these states is taking place on the basis of transitional, prenational, and sometimes even national-religious traditions. There is an ingrained notion that the formation of a national sovereign state is the only way to acquire the universal, common humanitarian, and civil rights which were not accorded due importance under the previous unitary state.

The new states are facing a dilemma in their development. They need to create the conditions for their independent national existence (a national currency, an economy, administration, an army). But they are having to do this at too high a price, disregarding their existing economic interdependence and economic ties. This policy leaves the states facing many not only economic but political, legal, and social problems. As interpreted by citizens, it results in broad sections of the population backtracking to a certain extent from being involved in politics.

It is increasingly clear that people are becoming aware of the futility of the CIS countries gearing themselves to the West, when the industrially developed countries are reluctant to provide loans or to open their markets to CIS goods and services. East Europe is an object lesson in the industrial countries' egoism. The deterioration in the Commonwealth countries' economic position—including the decline in industrial production and the growth of problems in the social sphere—are making them gradually look again at their traditional political partners and markets.

We cannot expect a full revival of the qualitatively different conditions of the old political and economic ties between the CIS countries. But the most important and vital of those ties should undoubtedly be revived in the sphere of mutually advantageous cooperation.

Practical life makes it necessary to formulate existing mutual ties—primarily on a bilateral or, in certain cases, a multilateral basis—while definitely differentiating among the CIS countries. As for integration processes, these will probably be unequal, with Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan being likely leaders in matters of economic and defense cooperation, and other CIS states possibly joining them. This is entirely realistic. But it depends on our having enough wisdom, which is something we currently lack.

The creation of a single economic, political, and legal area for the CIS countries could be seen as the development of a combination of different types of relations. The central core could be the focus for the main bulk of relations or "economic energy," since the economies of the countries making up this core would be at a far higher level of interdependence and integration.

The relatively small amount of experience accumulated by the CIS and its Interparliamentary Assembly requires a realistic assessment of its role both within the lives of the countries comprising it and in the international

arena —an assessment free of any illusions about this entity and allowing us to a certain extent to make judgments about the current CIS and its future prospects.

The development of cooperation among the Commonwealth countries is determined by a complex combination of socioeconomic and political factors following largely contradictory trends. On the one hand, certain fragments of integration mechanisms remain in place—not so much by dint of inertia as on the basis of objective needs. On the other hand, the desire to strengthen state sovereignty is exceptionally great. These factors are operating in an atmosphere of political instability, and interethnic conflicts—together with a lack of identification between partners' national and state interests—are leading to the virtual breakdown of ties between certain economic components of the CIS states. The politicians who directly determine these ties—that is, at government level—have themselves not yet established where their countries' national and state interests stand in the system of priorities and are therefore unable to implement even treaties and agreements which they themselves have concluded.

The priority tasks underlying the formation of the CIS continue to be the establishment of priorities in national economic policy both by each Commonwealth country individually—determining the means of their implementation in the foreign economic sphere—and in combination with the elaboration of overall concepts for the development of political, legal, economic, and foreign economic processes within the Commonwealth framework as a unified and integrated system reinforced by an effective treaty and legal base.

Meets Voronezh Enterprise Leaders

LD1904121393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] On the eve of the referendum Ruslan Khasbulatov, the speaker of the parliament, is paying working visits to various regions of Russia. Recently he visited St Petersburg, today he arrived in Voronezh. Eduard Gendeleyev, our correspondent, reports.

[Gendeleyev] From the airport Ruslan Khasbulatov went to the Voronezh mechanical works. Here a meeting with heads of big Voronezh enterprises took place. All speeches of the local producers were devoted to problems of granting credits to industrial enterprises. The lack of necessary funds forces them to reduce the volume of production and to sack workers. The Voronezh directors required to explain the economic policy of the center. Viktor Gerashchenko, the chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, who was present at this meeting, answered—and I quote him—that the present economic policy of the Russian Government does not provide for the increase in credits for industrial enterprises. We should change the policy itself. In his turn Ruslan Khasbulatov noted that he himself is a supporter of the strong state regulation of the economy of the country and he will do his best to ensure that credits for federal projects of industrial enterprises will be granted directly to production structures over the head of the Russian Ministry of Finance. Right now the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia is meeting representatives of the working collective of the Voronezh mechanical works.

Defines Essence of 'Political Crisis'

LD1904191793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1610 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Yermakova and Anatoliy Starukhin]

[Text] Voronezh (the center of Russia), 19 April—Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, who arrived in Voronezh today, has defined the essence of the political crisis in Russia not as a personal conflict or "a fight" between the branches of power, but as embodied in the fact that "the methods and means of the reform being conducted by the government and the president have completely failed," requiring the parliament and the congress to take appropriate measures.

The parliament chairman spoke at a meeting of the Association of Industrialists within the framework of his working trip to Voronezh oblast.

The president's team, he said, is striving to break free from current laws and the constitution as a whole. Deputies are making efforts to strengthen the economy and to halt the slump in production and inflation. The speaker cited as an example the law on privatization, adopted last year, which allows the successful solution of "the key problem in the reform policy." In fact, according to Ruslan Khasbulatov, privatization has taken the form of selling off the national property at sometimes ridiculously low prices. The idea is that every citizen of the country should have a privatization account which protects against inflation. However, there is no mention of this at all. There is also no clear-cut program for taking enterprises away from state control.

"We demand that the executive power should observe the laws," Ruslan Khasbultaov stated. "What is the difference between high-ranking officials and criminals, if they continuously violate the legislation and in doing so inflict immense material damage on the country and the people?"

The head of the parliament compared appeals by the president and his supporters to the people to calls aimed at whipping up conflict and civil war. In these conditions, the speaker believes, there are bound to be citizens who would want to defend the constitution. "If the Supreme Soviet becomes incapable of working normally in Moscow, we will find a town in Russia where we will be able to work," the chairman of the Supreme Soviet concluded.

Ruslan Khasbulatov briefly outlined a model for the reform as he sees it: It is necessary to create conditions for developing a mixed economy, where the state regulates the main processes of transformations, ensures the protection of manufacturers, and defines priorities.

Warns of Referendum 'Dirty Tricks'

LD1904221293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov started his visit to Voronezh Oblast. Our correspondent Eduard Gendeleyev reports over the phone:

[Gendeleyev] Ruslan Khasbulatov spent this afternoon at the Maslovskiy state farm near Voronezh. At this model farm, the speaker of the Russian Parliament had meetings with deputies of rayon soviets, chairmen of village soviets, farmers, and agrarian specialists. In their speeches Voronezh villagers described the situation that has taken shape on the farms as far from ideal, and suggested that an issue related to freeing prices for agricultural produce and helping the countryside be examined at the Supreme Soviet.

However, in his speech and answers to questions, Ruslan Khasbulatov yet again subjected those close to the president of Russia to criticism, I quote: The state has found itself in the captivity of these Neanderthal men. He called Boris Yeltsin a man who does not fulfill his promises. Regarding the referendum, the speaker of the Russian parliament stated: Dirty tricks may be performed. I am very concerned about such a state of affairs. The Supreme Soviet will act in a resolute fashion.

Calls For Upholding Constitution

LD2004081393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0801 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Lyudmila Yermakova and Anatoliy Starukhin]

[Yext] Voronezh April 20 TASS—"The main thing today is to uphold the Constitution, the lawful order in the country, and not to back this or that branch of government," speaker of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov told a meeting of heads of Russia's councils of people's deputies, currently under way in Voronezh.

The speaker stressed that the problem today is not "to ensure somebody's victory, which is in general impossible, but to minimise the losses inflicted upon the state by the president and his closest associates".

Khasbulatov noted that, in light of the "extremely tense situation in the country, heightened popular emotions and low prestige of the state, the deputies of all ranks should determine "what must be done to save the state from disintegration". [quotation marks as received] He claimed that the soviets were the people's "last bulwark".

Shumeyko on Official Visit to Buryatia

Urges Support for Yeltsin

LD1604134793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1250 GMT 16 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pyotr Tsyrendorzhiyev]

[Text] Ulan Ude April 16 TASS—"The more authority the federal government gives to the republics—the more Russia will gain from it," First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko said today at a meeting with workers of Ulan Ude thermal power plant no.2, commenting at their request on the situation in the country and further measures for putting into effect the federal treaty.

At the same time, Shumeyko pointed out that for a number of objective reasons the starting economic position of Buryatia was not equal to that of the neighbouring Siberian regions, when the transfer to a market-based system was started. The Russian government will render assistance to it in certain spheres, Shumeyko told the workers. This refers, in the first place, to power engineering and agriculture of the Baykal region. He believes, however, that Buryatia has two things which matter most—inter-ethnic accord and people's desire to work.

Speaking about the forthcoming nationwide referendum, Shumeyko pointed out that political parties divided into two camps do not enjoy people's confidence. If President Yeltsin gets the support of Russian citizens, he will pursue a more clear reform policy. The attempt to slow down the pace of reforming the economy of the huge country will only lead to the disintegration of the state, Shumeyko said in conclusion.

Referendum Will Determine Reforms

LD1704174393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] The visit by First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko to Buryatia has ended. Before leaving Ulan-Ude, he spoke live on the republic's television. Shumeyko said, in particular, that the first stage of the reforms—the most painful—is over and the process of stabilization should now begin. The future course of the development of reforms, the vice premier stressed, will to a large extent be determined by the outcome of the forthcoming referendum.

Shumeyko Visits St. Petersburg 19 Apr

Stabilization Has Begun

LD1904163093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1520 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg April 19 TASS—"We succeeded to stop industrial slump and now the second stage of reform began - the stabilisation period", Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko told the workforce of the "Lenpoligrafmash" joint-stock society in St. Petersburg on Monday [19 April].

He regretted that the growth of entrepreneurship in Russia was not accompanied by a normal development of production and admitted that this was a mistake of the government.

The government intends to create major financial and industrial groups of enterprises "around which small and medium-size businesses will develop", according to Shumeyko.

He called on St. Petersburg residents to participate in the coming referendum as the future of Russian reform depends on it.

Outlines Directions of Reforms

LD1904200593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1733 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Svetlana Ivanova]

[Text] St. Petersburg April 19 TASS—Flexible taxation policy and conversion of defence enterprises are among the main directions of the governmental policy of further reforms, according to First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko.

The creation of major financial and industrial groups of enterprises which will be able to compete both on home and foreign markets is another direction, he told St. Petersburg residents on Monday [19 April], adding that the groups should assist small and medium-size businesses.

Special attention in industrial revival should be paid to ecology, Shumeyko stressed. St. Petersburg occupies 78th place in the list of "clean" Russian cities.

Speaking on the coming referendum Shumeyko said that there are two major questions - on the trust to the president and on early parliamentary elections. He called to give the affirmative answer to both of them.

Sobchak Comments on Visit

LD2004110593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1105 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Svetlana Ivanova]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 19 Apr—Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation government, started his tour of St. Petersburg today by visiting the "Kirovskiy Zavod" joint-stock company. He visited the workshops and discussed with works director general Petr Semenenko the question of issuing credits to the former military industrial enterprise, which has now fully switched to civilian output. Vladimir Shumeyko also noted that the industry of St. Petersburg, the significant part of the output of which was for the defence industry, is successfully carrying out conversion: already 80 percent of its capacities have switched to civilian output.

The vice premier said the government intends to help set up major finance and industry groups, around which medium- and small-scale business could develop. "We are continuing to tackle the issues raised when Russian Federation Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin visited our city," Anatoliy Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersurg, said, commenting on Vladimir Shumeyko's visit here today. "We hope that during this visit specific problems not just of individual enterprises but also of the city as a whole will be solved," Anatoliy Sobchak commented. "There will also be discussion of issues relating to the general state of industry, given that Vladimir Shumeyko is responsible in the government for the work of industry."

Further on Shokhin Visits to Far East

Kamchatka Visit Criticized

OW1604010493 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 14 Apr 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Excerpts] Our next report deals with the arrival of Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy. Journalist Vladimir Kuchin reports.

[Begin Kuchin recording] The two-day visit to Kamchatka by Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Nikolayevich Shokhin, who heads a 30-member governmental delegation, ended today. The deputy prime minister called this trip to the peninsula and the consequent tour of Sakhalin, Khabarovsk, and Vladivostok a massive landing of officials from the capital for largely propagandistic purposes on the eve of the all-Russian referendum. [words indistinct] of this propaganda show is the slogan: If you do not support Yeltsin, the end of the world will come in Russia—in other words, Khasbulatov, who is the embodiment of the red bolshevik opposition, will win. Shokhin thinks that if Yeltsin wins, there will be prosperity in Russia. The disciplined functionary found it appropriate to make a historical comparison to one of the most tragic years—1917, when the soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies brought ruination and civil war to Russia. However, Shokhin did not say a single word about the role of the provisional government of the time. Meanwhile, taxes and clumsy hints at the year of 1917 only irritate the present Russian electorate. This may be the reason that when a break was announced during a meeting of local deputies and leaders of oblast organizations, most of them left the conference hall of the oblast soviet. They seem to have decided that Shokhin's message lacked concrete suggestions for resolving the menacing problems that are

looking the northerners full in the face, such as the lack of heat and light in their houses, galloping inflation, methods for carrying out privatization, etc. Many asked themselves if Shokhin and his group really needed northern Russia. Viktoria Dobronravova, a deputy of the Kamchatka Oblast Soviet and until recently an extremely radical democrat, also asked herself this question. Today, she heads the Kamchatka Oblast Soviet budget commission. [passage omitted]

My observations throughout the years suggest that visits of high-ranking Moscow officials to Kamchatka have never brought anything but disappointments up until now. [end recording]

Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin is in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk now, and he will be arriving in Vladivostok tomorrow.

Discusses China in Maritime Kray

LD1704085993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Report by Olga Zhurman from Vladivostok]

[Text] Today is the second day of the visit by Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin to Maritime Kray, which he started with a visit to the settlement of Pogranichnyy and the inspection of the Gradekova border station.

The deputy prime minister visited the town of Suyfenhe in Heilongjang where he held talks with the leaders of this northern province of China. Issues of deepening border economic ties were discussed. At the meeting, the following example was cited: at last year's fair in Harbin, trade contracts between Russia and China worth 6.3 billion rubles were concluded. In volume this is approximately 10 million tonnes. However, because of the poorly developed transport infrastructure, only 3 million tonnes were able to cross the Russian-Chinese border. The insufficient development of the main transport arteries, both rail and roads, on both sides of the border is the most acute problem in our relations with China. Deputy Prime Minister Shokhin proposed the reconstruction and resumption of rail traffic along the Khabarovsk-Vladivostok-Harbin route and said that Vladimir Kuznetsov, the head of the administration of Maritime Kray, is ready to assist in the near future in opening a direct rail link between Harbin and Vladivostok. The possibility of joining the maritime ports of Maritime Kray to the transport networks of China was also discussed. In this way China—one of the most powerful and promising partners of Russia, according to Aleksandr Shokhin—could receive an outlet to the Sea of Japan.

At the end of the day, Aleksandr Shokhin met with the heads of administration of the towns and rayons of Maritime Kray, where the question of power supply and of the adjustment of charges for electric power and heating was the main subject of discussion.

Continues Tour in Khabarovsk

LD1704101393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0916 GMT 17 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Vostokov]

[Text] Khabarovsk April 17 TASS—"We do not promise to resolve all problems of the Russian Far East region at once, but we promise to work out mechanisms for resolving these problems," said Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin at a conference of economic managers, heads of administrations, Russian people's deputies and deputies of local councils and representatives of the public, in Khabarovsk on Saturday [17 April].

"Representatives from regions should permanently take part in the work of the government and sessions of its presidium. This is a new approach towards the interaction between federal bodies and regions," Shokhin said.

He described the economic situation in the country as complex and contradictory, saying that many problems and hardships were caused by the inconsistency of the pursued policy and that the government was prepared to make it more precise and introduce corrections without giving up the course towards market transformations, privatisation and auctioning of enterprises.

At a news conference Shokhin reiterated that his trip to the Far East would enable to work out a system of interaction between federal bodies and local governments.

Asked about a speech made by the Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy in parliament on Friday, in which Rutskoy accused the government of corruption, Shokhin admitted that corruption, undoubtedly, existed. However, he said that "the vice-president, as a state official, should take measures, but not only declare about it."

Grachev in Vladivostok, Departs for Russkiy Island

LD2004044393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0410 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Popov]

[Text] Vladivostok, 20 Apr—Upon arrival in Vladivostok today, Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev immediately left for Russkiy Island, accompanied by Pacific Fleet Commander Vice Admiral Gennadiy Gurinov. During his stay, Grachev will look at combat readiness and the everyday routine and life of other fleet units.

Cited on Fleets, Referendum

LD2004100093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0951 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Vladivostok April 20 TASS—"If the Black Sea Fleet is to be shared it is necessary to divide not only battle ships and support vessels, but the naval bases and aviation as well", Pavel Grachev, the Russian defence minister, told TASS on Tuesday [20 April] commenting on the latest Ukrainian statement which said that Ukraine cannot lease its territory for Russian bases.

The minister emphasized that in the near future the Black Sea Fleet will be based nowhere but in Sevastopol. An inter-state agreement should be reached for Sevastopol to become a base both for the Russian Black Sea Fleet and the Ukrainian Navy.

Grachev has come today to Vladivostok which serves as the main base of the Russian Pacific Fleet. He rejected the proposal that his trip was connected with the coming all-Russia referendum. According to Grachev, all servicemen except those staying at distant posts will enjoy opportunity to vote on April 25 together with civilian population.

"It is rather personal, but as for me, I will vote 'yes' to all the four quesions", said the minister.

Touching upon the problems of the Pacific Fleet, Grachev said it is most difficult to maintain and supply the ships with spare parts.

The minister visited the naval base at Russkiy Island where four sailors died last February as a result of food poisoning.

Chechen Parliament Defies Dudayev; Armed Struggle Looms

LD1904123693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1108 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Gondusov and Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Apr—The political confrontation in Chechnya is threatening to escalate into an armed one. According to reports ITAR-TASS received from informed sources today, the parliament "dissolved" by Dzhokhar Dudayev, the president of the republic, is continuing to function. It has its own armed units and enjoys the support of a significant part of the population—in particular Chechnya's elders who, at a meeting of their council on 18 April, called for the president's resignation. The opposition to Dudayev is strong in rural areas of the republic. He also has quite a few opponents in Groznyy. According to one opposition leader ITAR-TASS correspondents spoke to the other day, one factor holding the opposing sides back from armed confrontation is the "fear of a bloody vendetta," which will be inevitable once blood is shed.

Street democracy prevails in Groznyy today. The capital of the republic has been divided into two camps.

According to information which is being received, a republican referendum on whether or not to hold simultaneous presidential and parliamentary elections ahead of schedule may be held in Chechnya on 25 April, rather than the all-Russian one. About 60,000 citizens of the republic have already signed a petition supporting this way of resolving the political confrontation.

Opposing Groups Rally in Groznyy

LD1904174493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1638 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Two major rallies have been going on for the whole day in Groznyy, the capital of Chechnya, on Monday [19 April].

Some 30,000 supporters of President Dzhokhar Dudayev gathered near the parliament building to support their leader's decision to dissolve parliament and introduce direct presidential rule.

The opposition rally was not that strong, TASS learned by telephone from the CHECHENPRESS News Agency.

Both rallies were guarded by police who said the do not expect a rise in crime. Shops, enterprises and public transport are working normally.

New parliamentary elections are scheduled for July, according to the source. The new government is already being formed by Deputy Prime Minister of the previous government Nairbek Mugadayev upon instructions of the president.

Dudayev Assails Opponents

LD1904204693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] [Announcer Shevykin] The Constitutional Court of the Chechen Republic has ruled that Dzhokhar Dudayev's decrees introducing presidential rule were unconstitutional. News agencies report that the confrontation between Dzhokhar Dudayev's supporters and opponents continues on the squares of Groznyy.

On the evening of 19 April we managed to contact the Chechen president on the phone. Here is how he explains the essence of the current conflict.

[Begin Dudayev recording] There is only one reason. The last bulwark of the party and bureaucratic structures has turned, in the new conditions, to gangster activities. This is in effect a global mafia transcending these structures. What they need now is power. They are losing grip on it, and they are flinging their last tanks into battle, a decisive battle, in order to take control of the situation and to retain official posts, this time in the role of capitalists and financiers. This is the only reason. All those involved have closed their ranks, pooling their party, criminal, trade, financial, and thieving interests. They started with political demands, and these were met

immediately. But this is not what they need. They need to develop the situation further, and so they are trying to provoke confrontation. The consequences of this may run even deeper than a mere confrontation. [end recording]

[Shevykin] I went on to enquire whether Dzhokhar Dudayev sees any link between the conflict in the Chechen Republic and the confrontation of branches of power in Moscow.

[Begin Dudayev recording] Political vagrants, claiming to be our deputies, have arrived here. They are among those who stirred up passions here. Indeed, the breeze is blowing from those parts, but here mafia structures have gladly seized on it. They pooled their interests with these people, and went on to stir up passions together, each in their own interests, planning to deceive each other in the end. There is no particular struggle between parliament and the president. The parliament—most of its members—has recognized that the dissolution was a natural development. They gave up their powers as deputies, not only without any resistance, but even with pleasure. [end recording]

[Shevykin] That was the point of view of Dzhokhar Dudayev.

Commentary Views Dudayev Decision

LD1904205093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Vladimir Kalinovskiy commentary over video]

[Text] Dzhokhar Dudayev's decrees were designed to discontinue the activities of parliament and to introduce presidential rule. Dudayev has thus taken the extreme step of opposing a parliament which had tried to limit presidential authority. General Dudayev's actions followed parliament's vote of no confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers headed by the President himself. Parliament introduced into the Constitution an amendment to deprive the president of any real possibility of heading the government in the future.

[Begin recording Yuriy Soslambekov, chairman of Parliamentary Committee] The heart of the matter is that the president is the prime minister, and yet the Cabinet of Ministers is not ready today for economic reforms. In Russia for instance, reforms are progressing, albeit with difficulty, whereas our Cabinet of Ministers has not done anything to push it forward. [end recording]

The need to assert the sovereignty of the republic is not being questioned today in the republic. There is not a single significant public or political force which would oppose this idea. However, Dudayev wants his power to be strengthened so as to be able to take credit for a prospective triumph over the intrigues of its northern neighbor, Russia. In order to prevent the en masse participation of people in rallies organized by his opponents, Dudayev tried to claim that people are just a toy in Russia's political game with Chechnya. It remains to be seen whether this policy is likely to entice people to support him. After all it was above all a powerful economic and social crisis that has pushed people into the ranks of the opposition to the president.

N. Ossetia-Ingushetia Situation 'Extremely Complex'

LD1704120393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1112 GMT 17 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz April 17 TASS—The situation in the emergency zone on the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia continues to be extremely complex, Major-General Aleksandr Khodov, secretary of the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic security council told ITAR-TASS today.

Several night shellings, explosions and local spots of conflict situations were registered during the past week alone, as a result of which five Ossetians were killed.

Last night shots were heard again in the emergency zone. In the area of Lars and Chmi mountain settlements unidentified persons fired at a car from the Ingushetia side. Two of the passengers were seriously wounded.

The tense situation in the region is explained by the fact that no exchange of hostages has taken place during the past five months from both sides, the local population is in possession of a lot of firearms and bandit gangs are active here, Aleksandr Khodov said.

According to the headquarters of the interim administration, the crime situation in the region is not showing any improvement. Fifteen crimes and incidents were registered and 40 persons were arrested for administrative violation of law and order regulations during the past 24 hours.

At meetings held in North Ossetian settlements residents have demand that the leadership of the republic and the interim administration severely punish murderers and reinforce North Ossetian borders with Ingushetia.

Shooting Heard in Emergency Zone

LD1804154893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1539 GMT 18 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz April 18 TASS—Shooting continues to be heard in the limited zone of the state of emergency in the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

An armoured carrier with a group of Russian Interior Ministry investigators on the way to Nazran came under fire in the territory of the Nazran district of Ingushetia on the night from Saturday [17 April] to Sunday, says a

report from the headquarters of the provisional administration. Luckily, nobody was hurt.

On the same night, unidentified persons were shooting from automatic weapons not far from the Russian militia's checkpoint in Dongaron settlement of Prigorodnyy district.

Sergeant of the Russian militia Vitaliy Bichunosov was gravely wounded by unidentified persons in the centre of Vladikavkaz on Sunday. He was hospitalised with a bullet wound in the chest. The attackers have fled.

Altogether 15 criminal offences and accidents were registered in the district in the past day. Eleven people were detained. Some two thousand automobiles were checked.

Colonel-General Yuriy Shatalin, chief of the provisional administration, met with residents of a number of populated localities of North Ossetia and Ingushetia. He said that Russian peace-making forces are fully in control of the situation in the region and refuted rumours about the prepared "spring drive" of the Ossetian and Ingush sides. He said that the tranquility and rights of citizens, regardless of their nationality, will be reliably protected.

Shatalin said that by a special decree strict rules were introduced for population's travel in the zone of the state of emergency. Citizens need permissions of the migration service and military commanders to visit the places of their previous residence.

He said refugees are not being returned to their former residence in an organised way. First it is necessary to create appropriate conditions and ensure people's safety. But spontaneous return of people to their homes is already taking place.

It is very difficult to ensure people's safety and supply them with necessities in these populated localities, but the provisional administration jointly with the North Ossetian authorities is doing its utmost for this.

Situation Remains 'Tense'

LD1904142893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0932 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 19 Apr—Though the Russian peacekeeping forces are keeping the situation under control in the restricted state of emergency zone in North Ossetia and Ingushetia, the criminal situation there remains tense. Instances of militia posts and populated areas being fired on are increasing. There has been some hostage-taking.

On Sunday evening, unknown persons fired on a vehicle of the Russian Federation Interior Ministry's operational-investigation group on the Georgian military highway near the Ossetian settlement of Chmi. Militia captain Oleg Yeremeyev died as result of wounds received. Five other Russian militiamen were also wounded.

Shepherds were attacked overnight in the region of the village Stariy Batakoyurt. A local was taken hostage.

The North Ossetian Council for Security held a meeting in Vladikavkaz today.

The press service of Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin, head of the provisional administration, revealed that a letter was received today from Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray, saying that there is a need for practical implementation in the near future of the agreement on measures for a integrated resolution of the refugee and forced resettlers' issue in Ingushetia and North Ossetia signed in Kislovodsk on 20 March. The letter also underlines the need to ensure that the citizens of Ingush origin returning to North Ossetia are safe and that spring work in the fields can be carried out.

Army Reinforces North Caucasian Military District

LD1604101393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0858 GMT 16 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Apr—The main danger to Russia's security comes from the southern sector, and that is why we are first of all strengthening the North Caucasian Military District (NCMD), Russian Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev said at the reserve officers' assembly that opened today. He noted that in the last few months, five combat-ready brigades as well as bomber and fighter-bomber air force regiments were set up in the North Caucasian Military District and two brigades of airborne assault troops were also sent there. According to Pavel Grachev, an air-defense system is being set up in the NCMD. Russia's airspace in the southern sector is well protected, the minister stressed.

Chubays: Chelyabinsk Privatization Ban 'Political Trick'

PM1904101393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Apr 93 p 1

[I. Savvateyeva report: "Chubays in Chelyabinsk. Fur Flies"]

[Text] Yesterday Anatoliy Chubays arrived in Chelyabinsk to sort things out with the rebels who have canceled [privatization] check auctions in this one isolated oblast. True, the head of the "plotters," Petr Sumin, who is chairman of the oblast soviet, did suddenly leave for Moscow.

As became clear, check auctions are banned here because "the state has given up the vodka monopoly, while Chubays-style privatization has turned out to be criminal." The main argument is along the following lines: An

entrepreneur comes up from the south and for a few bottles of Royal vodka buys up Chelyabinsk Oblast property and takes the dividends back home to Dagestan, leaving us dust, dirt, and radioactive fumes.

However, thus far only four enterprises have been sold via check auctions. The amount of incorporation capital which has gone outside amounted to 4 percent in one case, 19 in another, and zero in the remaining two!

"So it is a case of perfectly plain deception. Since the relevant Supreme Soviet instruction was issued a cheap political trick has been played," the vice premier said, commenting on the situation.

Chelyabinsk has set a precedent for which enough people wanting to follow will be found.

For the time being the State Committee for the Management of State Property is operating in two areas. First, Chubays has asked the general prosecutor to examine the legality of the Chelyabinsk Soviet's decision. Second, the vice premier has made an interesting suggestion: Namely, that centers be opened in the oblast to sell shares in the following major Russian enterprises—the Bratsk Timber Industry Combine, the Volkhovskiy Aluminum Plant, and Novgorod's "Ammofos" Association.

"If the interests of your inhabitants really concern you," Anatoliy Chubays said, apostrophizing the absent Petr Sumin, "your answer to me will be 'yes.'"

Mordovia Protests Yeltsin Edict as Unconstitutional

PM1904103393 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Apr 93 p 2

[Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet appeal to republic's citizens: "Edict in Both Directions. Why Mordovian Parliamentarians Do Not Trust Their President"]

[Text] Esteemed citizens!

The events of recent days oblige the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet to appeal to the Republic's citizens. On 7 April 1993, in strict accordance with the Russian Federation Constitution, the Mordovian SSR Constitution, and the Federation Treaty, the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted the Mordovian SSR Law "On Abolishing the Posts of President and Vice President of the Mordovian SSR and Making Changes and Additions to the Mordovian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)."

This constitutional step was prompted by appeals from political parties, public organizations, and citizens advocating the abolition of the institution of the presidency and also by the fact that the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet had passed a vote of no confidence in President V. Guslyannikov for his violations of laws and of the Russian Federation president's edict "On Combating Corruption in the System of State Service."

The Supreme Soviet's decisions have been supported by the overwhelming majority of citizens of the Mordovian SSR. The deputies unanimously advocated stabilizing the economic and political situation in the republic, strengthening Russian statehood, and clearly delimiting objects of jurisdiction and powers between the representative and executive organs of power.

The decision adopted by the people's deputies has, however, elicited a negative response from the federal executive structures. The president of the Russian Federation has signed an edict suspending the adopted Mordovian SSR law on abolishing the institution of the presidency. In this connection the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet declares that this edict violates the Federation Treaty and runs counter to the Russian Federation Constitution and the Mordovian SSR Constitution.

How can we talk about the principle of the separation of powers—a principle proclaimed from high rostrums—if the federal executive is encroaching on the competence of the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet, the highest representative organ of an equal subject of the Russian Federation?

How can we talk about the supremacy of the law if a legally binding act—an edict of the Russian president—violates not only the Mordovian SSR Constitution but also the Russian Federation Constitution?

Proceeding from the situation which has taken shape, people's deputies of the Mordovian SSR appeal to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to support the decision of the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet voices the hope that the Russian Federation president will devote attention to the Mordovian SSR's problems and will countermand his edict so as not to artificially stoke political passions over the situation in Mordovia.

People's deputies of the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet regard as inadmissible the interference by federal organs of state management in the republic's internal affairs and express a negative attitude toward the tendentious coverage of events on central television and radio.

Under these conditions the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet appeals to citizens of Mordovia to make a considered assessment of the current events and to enable the people's deputies to resolve all problems of the republic's vital activity by constitutional means. There will be no weakening of the vertical power structure in connection with the abolition of the institution of the

presidency. The people's deputies of the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet will without delay form the Council of Ministers—the republic's government—which will be a constituent part of the Russian Federation's executive structures.

The Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet assures citizens that the decisions adopted by it will serve to guarantee political and socioeconomic stability in the republic.

[Signed] The Supreme Soviet of the Mordovian SSR

International Affairs

Kravchuk Discusses Results of Minsk CIS Summit

LD1704144593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1200 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] We have reported the meeting of heads of state of CIS members in Belarus on 16 April. Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk was interviewed by Ukrainian and foreign journalists at Borispol airport on his return from Minsk about the results of the Minsk meeting of CIS heads of state. He said in particular:

[Begin Kravchuk recording] This is probably the first time in all the meetings held thus far that it was decided to discuss only one issue, one problem: What is the outlook for the CIS? For example, are some kind of structures possible within the framework of the CIS, or not? Is there a realistic basis on which this structure can continue developing and improving? And what is it necessary to do for this? What mechanisms, what variants are possible?

For example, if a state does not sign the charter or some other document, will it drift away from the CIS, or will the CIS find within itself such mechanisms that will would allow that state to cooperate, even if it took some [word indistinct] position, or, for example, if it is not ready for deep and all-round political and military-political integration but is ready for economic integration? This was the range of issues, which was concerned with the life and prospects of the CIS.

But as far as those problems which exist between states are concerned—bilateral ones—they were in fact not discussed. I think the most important result is that all those who were present—and in fact practically everyone was present—had a better and deeper understanding of the fact that all cannot reach agreement today. This realization was already there and smoldering somewhere previously, but it was now perceptible today.

Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] and Nursultan Abishevich [Nazarbayev], and all the others who spoke today [word indistinct]. I spoke there at this sitting in a small group, not as one of the first, but the one before last. This means that this sentiment came from them, that there is no need to push away those who are not ready to sign, say, the charter now. This means that there are no grounds to put them in some other framework, that because Ukraine does not sign the charter today, its relations with Kazakhstan, Russia, or Uzbekistan will in no way differ from those relations between, for example, Belarus and Russia, which did sign the charter. And this should continue to be so in the economic sphere.

But we are obliged to think about how this structure should work more efficiently. I think this is the most important result, most important understanding of this very thing.

And second, although we did not set such a task earlier, when we arrived at the news conference, we felt, when we assembled together, responsibility toward the referendum which will be held in Russia. We felt this responsibility, and we said so. Again, this means that we are living in (?relationships) which we cannot yet have with other states. We have very many common traits which determine our life. And we should support that which is now characteristic and distinguishing in our relations with each other. [end recording]

Party Leader Says Guarantees Needed Before Disarming

LD1704030693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1000 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Ukraine desires non-nuclear status, but it should receive security guarantees before disarming. This was stated by Vitaliy Zhuravskyy, chairman of the Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine, during a meeting in Washington today with representatives from the Pentagon, the Senate, and President Clinton's administration. Zhuravskyy is in the United States at the invitation of the Democratic Party of that country and the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Ukrainian Killed in Sarajevo; Ship Detained

LD1704172993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Apr 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] During shooting at a military post in Sarajevo today a Ukrainian serviceman in the UN peacekeeping forces was killed, the UN military headquarters in Sarajevo has reported. NATO naval ships have detained the Ukrainian trading ship "Khrustalnyy", and accompanied it to an Italian port. The Ukrainian ship delivered a cargo of fuel to the Black Sea [as heard] port of Bar in violation of the blockade of Serbia and Montenegro instituted by the UN Security Council.

Zlenko Letter to UN Protests Death

LD1904194293 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1312 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Letter from Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko delivered to Pakistan's Jamsheed Marker, chairman of the United Nations Security Council, pertaining to the death of a Ukrainian serviceman killed in Sarajevo]

[Text] United Nations, 19 April (UKRINFORM)—Viktor Batyuk, permanent representative of Ukraine to the United Nations delivered a letter on Saturday from Ukraine Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko to Pakistan's Jamsheed Marker, current chairman of the UN Security Council.

In the letter, serious concern and anxiety were expressed in connection with the belligerents' criminal actions in the area of Sarajevo. As a result of mortar shells fired on

positions of the Ukrainian battalion of the United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR], Private Aleksandr Vlasenko was killed.

The letter says that the shelling of the UN peacekeeping forces' was a gross violation of the principles and norms of international law, and is regarded by Ukraine's government as a hostile action against its citizens.

Ukraine's Government resolutely demands that the parties to the conflict take every possible measure to end hostile actions against the peace-keeping contingent immediately and unconditionally, no matter who the initiator of these actions is. The government of Ukraine hopes that the [UN] Security Council in accordance with resolution number 807 of 1992 by the [UN] Security Council and with the UN Charter, will take effective measures to counteract adequately the criminal shelling of UNPROFOR positions in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the letter notes.

Government Wants UN Consideration as Less Developed State

LD1904193293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1816 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations April 19 TASS—Ukraine approached the United Nations Organisation with the request to consider it as a less developed state than earlier to reduce its contribution to U.N. peace-keeping operations, says a note by the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry circulated at the U.N. headquarters today as an official document of the General Assembly.

Ukraine is going through an exceptionally difficult period in its history, the note says. The real indicators of its national income and per capita income reflect a sharp fall in the living standards in the country.

In 1992 national income shrank by 14 per cent, industrial production decreased by nine per cent, the deficit of Ukraine's aggregate budget reached 9.1 per cent of its Gross National Product, exports (disregarding the CIS countries) dropped by 38 per cent, inflation posted approximately 2000 per cent and investments practically stopped.

The note points out that serious economic difficulties associated with the establishment of Ukraine as an independent state and the multi-billion expenditures involved in efforts to cushion the aftermath of the Chernobyl nuclear plant accident adversely affect its solvency. In addition, Ukraine sustains serious economic losses as a result of the fulfillment by it of U.N. Security Council resolutions to impose sanctions against the Union Republic of Yugoslavia.

"Nevertheless, Ukraine continues to be attributed to the group of economically developed U.N. member-states rather than to the group of economically less developed countries although its per capita national income is less than in countries listed in the second group."

The Ukrainian Government asked the U.N. General Assembly to take into account the aforementioned facts and "make pertinent changes in the system to finance U.N. peace-keeping operations and also find opportunities to transfer Ukraine from the group of economically developed states to the group of economically less developed countries."

Crimea Asks Russia, Ukraine To Reaffirm Black Sea Fleet Accord

MK1604115693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Apr 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Pilat report: "Crimean Parliament Comments on Yalta Agreement. Crimean Supreme Soviet Deputies Adopt Appeal to Russian, Ukrainian Presidents and Parliaments"]

[Text] The Republic of Crimea Supreme Soviet session continued yesterday.

Deputy Valeriy Kuznetsov, former commander of the Crimean Army Corps, proposed that an item, "On the political situation regarding the Black Sea Fleet," be included in the agenda and that Vice Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, be invited to the session. Crimean Parliament Speaker Nikolay Bagrov noted that that morning he had had a telephone conversation with Eduard Baltin, who told him that "as a serviceman, he should not join in political games." The Supreme Soviet chairman emphasized that he had agreed with that. "The negotiating process is under way; Ukraine has not officially declared anywhere that it was withdrawing from the Yalta agreement. I believe it would be worthwhile to invite the chiefs of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Military Commission together with Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov to discuss this subject," Nikolay Bagrov said. He proposed that an appeal to the presidents and the parliaments of Ukraine and Russia be issued in connection with the aggravation of the situation regarding the Black Sea Fleet.

Ivan Yermakov, the president's representative in Sevastopol, said in his statement: "The Black Sea Fleet problem is stalemated and the tensions around it have been whipped up deliberately by certain political circles. In my view, the question of the Black Sea Fleet must be included in the agenda without fail and the two defense ministers—of Ukraine and Russia—and not just parliamentarians, be invited to take part in the discussion. The delegations of Ukraine and Russia have been working on this problem for over five months, but in vain. According to the Russian side, it is not so much the status of the Black Sea Fleet that is at issue, but rather Sevastopol as a naval base for the Russian Black Sea Fleet."

The majority of the deputies voted for issuing an appeal to the presidents and Supreme Soviets of Ukraine and Russia.

The appeal says, in particular: "The Crimean Supreme Soviet expresses serious concern over the situation that has been evolving around the Black Sea Fleet and the attempt by chiefs of the executive bodies to call into question the Yalta agreement, and in this connection asks the presidents of Ukraine and Russia to reaffirm their commitment to the Yalta accords."

It was also decided to include the item "On compliance with the Yalta Agreement on the Black Sea Fleet" in the agenda. At the suggestion of Nikolay Bagrov, however, it will be considered at the session's third stage, that is to say, not earlier than in a week.

Staffers from the apparatus of the Ukrainian president and chiefs of the republic's Supreme Soviet commissions were invited to attend the session.

Foreign Minister Arrives in Rome for Official Visit

LD1804155393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1542 GMT 18 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Startsev]

[Text] Rome April 18 TASS—Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko arrived for an official visit in Italy on Sunday. He will meet in Rome on Monday with Italian President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro and with chairmen of both chambers of the Italian Parliament Giorgio Napolitano and Giovanni Spadolini. On the same day, the Ukrainian foreign minister will conduct negotiations with his Italian counterpart Emilio Colombo. The treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries will be initialled during the negotiations.

The Ukrainian foreign minister will also visit the Vatican where he will be received by Pope John Paul the Second.

Meets President, Pope

LD1904223893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2040 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Startsev]

[Text] Rome, 20 April—Anatoliy Zlenko, Ukrainian foreign minister, has paid an official visit to Italy. On Monday, he met Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, president of the republic, and two presidents of the national parliament, Giorgio Napolitano and Giovanni Spadolini. A. Zlenko informed his interlocutors on the present political and economic situation in the Ukraine. They discussed many issues linked to the development of bilateral relations as well as topical problems of international life. The head of the Italian state O. L. Scalfaro expressed a wish to meet Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. The date of the visit is to be agreed through diplomatic channels.

On the same day, A. Zlenko held talks with Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo. The text of a treaty on friendship and cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Italy was initialled in the course of the meeting. The document stresses that both countries intend to develop their relations on the basis of trust and mutual respect and in line with the principles of sovereignty, equality, and observation of the basic rights and freedoms of the individual. It points out that the development of mutually beneficial cooperation will be important for the implementation of a program of economic reforms in Ukraine and for its transition to the market economy. In particular, a joint council for economic, industrial, and financial cooperation is to be set up.

In the course of a press conference which took place here, A. Zlenko said that the present situation in Russia was also discussed at the meeting with E. Colombo. He stressed that relations between Russia and Ukraine should be based on the principles of equality and mutual respect. The minister said that it is in the interests of his country that the process of democratic transformations and economic reforms continues in Russia.

For his part, E. Colombo informed his Ukrainian counterpart on the results of the meeting of "Big Seven" in Tokyo recently. In connection with this, A. Zlenko said that Ukraine, in principle, is not against such aid to Russia, but at the same time it is in favor of aid spreading to other CIS countries. Otherwise, he says, this may "unbalance the situation" and cause misunderstanding in other republics of the former USSR.

The head of the Ukrainian foreign policy department was received by Pope John Paul II in the Vatican. The problem of relations between Ukraine's various religions was touched upon during the conversation. The sides discussed a wide range of issues linked to the development of cooperation in Europe. Particular stress was laid on the necessity to observe human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities.

Parliamentary Delegation Concludes Visit to PRC

LD1804090893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0801 GMT 18 Apr 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent and ITAR-TASS correspondents Adam Voitovich and Pavel Spirin]

[Text] Beijing April 18 TASS—A Ukrainian parliamentary delegation left China for home by air on Sunday at the close of their official visit.

Before departure, Ivan Plyushch, Ukrainian parliament chief, told correspondents: "I hope that the familiarisation with Chinese experience and deeper cooperation on a mutually beneficial basis help Ukraine to carry out economic reforms better".

"People in China have thoroughly thought how to effect reforms for them to be more constructive. China has established a legal basis for such processes which make it possible to advance the economy at a high pace and raise the living standards of people," Plyushch said.

The delegation stayed for three days, from April 15 to 17, in the south-eastern Chinese province of Jiangsu

which now demonstrates China's highest rate of economic growth—27 per cent a year.

During the delegation's meeting with the leadership of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, committee chairman Han Peixing described reforms which had been launched IN China at the end of 1978 and cited impressive figures.

Over the period that has passed since, national income in Jiangsu increased 2.5 times over, foreign capital investments in the Chinese economy amounted to 7,600 million dollars, the harvest of cereals has grown and now amount to 33 million tonnes.

The delegation also toured many factories and industrial plants in the cities of Nanjing, Yizheng and Yangzhou where they had an opportunity to see the specific results of the economic reform in China.

Plyushch Views Visit's Results

LD1904032393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Excerpt] As we already reported, the parliamentary delegation of our state returned to Kiev from the People's Republic of China. Ivan Plyushch, delegation leader and Ukrainian Supreme Soviet chairman, told Ukrainian and foreign journalists about the results of the visit.

[Begin Plyushch recording] This is one visit that all of the delegation members are most satisfied with. Our delegation consisted of three groups. One group of 12 people was the official delegation of the Supreme Council, visiting at the invitation of the National People's Congress of China.

Another group, a business delegation, went on their own initiative. As it turned out, they carried out very successful work, and they even concluded contracts during this period amounting to more than $200 million. This is a large sum.

The third group was the one that was studying the experience of setting up free economic zones, or special economic zones, which are practiced widely today in China. I will tell you that it was even pleasant that each of the groups was satisfied with the trip. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Kuchma Visits Kuwait, Establishes Diplomatic Relations

LD1804181993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1801 GMT 18 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Rafael Bikbayev]

[Text] Cairo April 18 TASS—A protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Kuwait was signed in the Kuwaiti capital on Sunday, Sawt al-Arab Radio reports. It says the document was signed during the visit of Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma to Kuwait. The visit has been concluded on Sunday.

Kuchma, Delegation Arrive in UAE for Two-Day Visit

LD1704025893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] A Ukrainian delegation headed by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma arrived in the United Arab Emirates [UAE] today on an official two-day visit. At Abu Dhabi international airport, the head of the Ukrainian Government said that the delegation will discuss Middle Eastern and other international issues and the future of development of Ukrainian-UAE relations during meetings with UAE officials. The delegation will inform UAE state officials about the situation in Ukraine and will exchange opinions with them regarding the possibilities for bilateral cooperation in the area of capital investment.

Government Signs New Economic Agreements With Hungary

LD1904173593 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Ukraine has obtained new economic agreements with its important western partner, Hungary. Nandor Mester reports from Kiev:

[Mester] We can open the gates to each other, said Bela Kadar at tonight's press briefing in Kiev. With this, the minister of international economic relations obviously referred to the fact that Hungary and Ukraine are important transit countries for each other. Naturally, the transit character does not preclude bilateral cooperation. According to the protocols signed today, the investment protection agreement and the agreement to exclude double taxation will be prepared soon and experts will start working on the traffic, shipping and transit agreement.

Ivan Herts, Ukrainian foreign economic minister, stressed that regarding the restoration and development of economic relations with the former socialist countries, the best results were achieved with Hungary. At present 80 joint ventures are operational and the value of Hungarian investment is more than $12 million.

Government Leaders Pay Condolences to Turkey on Ozal's Death

LD2004090993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] On 19 April, Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine; Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma; Mykola Khomenko, secretary of the president's office; and First Deputy Minister Mykola Makarevych visited the Turkish Embassy in Kiev. They expressed condolences to embassy officials in connection with the untimely demise of Turkish President Turgut Ozal. The guests signed the book of condolences.

National Affairs

Supreme Soviet Chairman Plyushch Interviewed

WS1904110093 Kiev KYYIVSKA PRAVDA in Ukrainian 6 Apr 93 p 1,3

[Interview with Supreme Soviet Chairman Ivan Plyushch by Y. Nepomnyashcha; place and date not given: "Even Though Certain People Think of Stagnation as Paradise, Nobody Can Deceive People Any More"]

[Text] [Neponyashcha] **Presidents like to emphasize that they are elected by the people and should therefore express the will of the people. But you were elected by the legislature, so you have to be loyal to it. At the same time, the Supreme Council seems headed for a split between the majority and minority, leaving you in a complicated situation.**

[Plyushch] We had enough wisdom to accept democratic forms of governing only during the period of euphoria over newly gained independence. Later on, nostalgia for a strong hand and power settled in. On this account, the presence of the majority and minority in our legislature is seen by many as a step toward confrontation and unforeseen consequences. But this is commonplace in the legislative practices. We are hosting a group of U.S. congressmen right now, which includes majority and minority leaders. They even have their own aides. All this, however, is accompanied by responsibility, while the work of our legislature is often dominated by ambitions on the part of the both sides.

I am concerned about the fact that left- and right-wing extremists are trying to take the lead both in the legislature and in society, with the sound centrists continuing to sit on the fence.

[Neponyashcha]**How could do you explain this?**

[Plyushch] They are just waiting to see who is going to win. This is a very dangerous attitude. So the task of the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium is to stir the centrists, because when they become active, we will not have so many political somersaults.

[Neponyashcha] **Are your activities limited by pressure from the two sides—the majority and minority?**

[Plyushch] No, they are not. But honestly, it is more difficult to work in the Supreme Council now than it was in May or June 1990, because you had a plain division—140 to 240—of two groupings; and somehow it was possible to come to terms with their leaders. At present, the 80-strong minority consists of the people who more often than not fail to reconcile with each other. As for the majority, it consists of at least three factions. The majority leader recently sent me an appeal with 154 signatures that called for including on the agenda the issue of confidence in standing commission chairmen, who are also members of the Presidium. I asked him if he actually believed that the move would stabilize the situation in the legislature. On the other hand, without the permanent opposition's threats of a boycott or some other measures hanging over the majority, the latter would undertake no decisive actions.

[Neponyashcha]**Do you see any objective reasons for such ferment in the legislature?**

[Plyushch] The deputies are simply reflecting the situation which exists in their electoral districts. They may have their own views, but at the same time they can see that other feelings, different from theirs, prevail among the electorate. Besides, the new elections are just around the corner, which involves preparing new political platforms. Unfortunately, there is much discontent in the districts at present—not over the Supreme Council or the president, but the living conditions. We should muster enough wisdom to unite in order to explain to the people that we have chosen the right way, and that no one has ever managed to implement declarations about a democratic state and free labor—which we so often talked about—in a year's time. This is all the more the case as this coincided with gaining the independence and the change of the production and socio-economic systems. Even in the former German Democratic Republic—with its population of 17 million absorbing billions of German marks invested by West Germany—the unemployment rate stands at 30 percent, and discontent is growing. And we want to have it all in one year.

[Neponyashcha] **You have frequently spoke in favor of early elections to the soviets. But who can guarantee that they will generate a qualitatively new corps of deputies? It is not a secret that the campaigning during the last elections was orchestrated according to the following pattern: Vote for the rayon secretary, and he will provide you with sugar. There are only too many local princelings in the field.**

[Plyushch] First of all, you should not oversimplify it. You should always look on the bright side. I will never believe that people do not seek to elect someone who will work more efficiently. The truth is that however hard the Supreme Council works, it will never have the same amount of confidence as the new legislature—there will always be forces pointing out the fact that we were elected under the communist regime. And one more thing: I believe that not only will the people participate in the elections, but they will also elect deserving representatives, although no one is immune to mistakes.

[Neponyashcha] In other words, worthy of the people at this time, because, as the saying goes, people have the authority which they deserve. Correct?

[Plyushch] Yes. This is absolutely right. However, the people have also changed. They are not the same people that they were in 1990, when our legislature became operational.

[Neponyashcha] **Unfortunately, the belief is widely held today that we have created an enviable state and that we**

should have sought political instead of economic sovereignty, which resulted in the disruption of all the networks.

[Plyushch] I believe that you can either have sovereignty or not have it at all. It cannot be partial or incomplete. This is how we lived in the past—free on paper, but "under Big Brother" in reality. The argument, which you have just mentioned, is pretended naivete. You might simply call it a misperception. Behind it, however, there is a concealed hope to convince at least someone that we need neither economic nor political sovereignty.

Let us talk now about the links. I am very familiar with the accusations maintaining that the party of Kravchuk and Plyushch abetted the nationalistic forces, which broke the economic links and had a catastrophic effect on the economy. All the CIS summits were focused on how to strengthen those links. However, two-thirds of nearly 300 documents adopted there just do not work, and it remains to be seen who is yet to be blamed for that. And whose fault is that Ukraine received zero instead of the Soviet foreign assets, even though the treaty stipulated otherwise, as everyone knows? Here is another example. During my televised conversation, carried live, with Khasbulatov, he emphasized that the economies of our states are deeply integrated—you can hardly imagine Russia without, say, the output of the Lugansk locomotive plant. At the same time, the Russian Ministry of Roads and Communications owed 2 billion rubles [R] to that plant by that time. After the conversation, I requested his help in reducing the debt. Nevertheless, it stood at R1.5 billion during Khasbulatov's recent visit to Ukraine. So, who disrupts the links? How can Ukraine possibly break them at a time when it has just begun to create its national financial and banking systems? Russia did inherit all this from the Soviet Union, and now it shows every step of the way, by word and deed, that Ukraine will not get by without it.

[Neponyashcha] **The leader of the Russian Communist Party, Mr. Zyuganov, appeared recently on the Ostankino network, recollecting with nostalgia that Ukraine "used to be the breadbasket of the whole country," and just look where it wound up today. You could see that he wished that Ukraine had retained its "status." He also said that the Russian Communist Party already numbered 600,000 members. Do you not perceive as dangerous the fact that a similar process is gathering momentum in Ukraine?**

[Plyushch] I do not think so. First, Zyganov's words did not contain too much truth. Ukraine has never been the "breadbasket of the whole country." Sometimes, it even received a portion of Soviet imports. It produced as much as it could consume. However, Ukraine has significant potential to become such a breadbasket and feed twice the size of its current population.

As for nostalgia, it would be half the trouble if it affected Zyuganov only. It may have been the dream of his life to become a secretary in the party's Central Committee, which has ceased to exist. I just refuse to understand many Russian public figures, including widely acknowledged movie directors and journalists, who shed tears over the loss of Ukraine. When in France, they do not lament that Paris is not Russian, while they think that the Crimea certainly is.

The scariest part is not what Zyuganov says—I am not afraid of him—but the poor condition our economy and the plummeting living standards. People still remember the times of stagnation, which they think of as paradise now, even though they were guaranteed only the very minimum. Therefore, we cannot rule out the possibility that they could be deceived once again. However, I still do not think that this is possible—perhaps some of them could be, but not all.

This is why I believe that the revival of the communist movement in Ukraine poses no threat. They lie when they say that they stand for socialism, equality, and general well-being. In reality they want to restore the party structures. By the way, 150 million members in a 600 million population is a drop in the bucket.

[Neponyashcha] **What lessons should we learn from the recent developments in Russia?**

[Plyushch] Those who assert that Russian events have nothing to do with Ukraine are making a big mistake. It would be an even bigger mistake to see them as having been produced by the Yeltsin- Khasbulatov strife. The roots of those events run much deeper. If we are to build a democratic and orderly state, we cannot get rid of the old style of management by merely introducing some cosmetic measures or by changing signboards. I have repeatedly said that I am sympathetic to Yeltsin's cause, but less with him as a person, and not sympathetic at all with his tactics. When you lack arguments or something else, you are liable to resort to force. Many people here call for restoring order, too. So let them do it! After World War II, Churchill said that the future problems of Europe would not be resolved forcefully, but on the basis of negotiations. This is why the European Council should be formed. However, the word council itself grates on the ears of certain people in Ukraine. It is easier to issue an order.... Thus, those who say that representative bodies are not necessary advocate the use of force.

Incidentally, no general secretary or mere secretary of the CPSU Central Committee disapproved of the Supreme Council, although they could do so.

[Neponyashcha] **Who should adopt a draft of the new constitution? What move will you make if the legislature marks time, as was the case during the vote on the Constitutional Court?**

[Plyushch] I was deeply convinced that we did not need the Constitutional Court at this point.

[Neponyashcha] **Is this because we still operate under the old Constitution?**

[Plyushch] Not only that. We have a society in ferment that would not listen to any court. As for the constitution, it should be crafted by all forces available within society and be adopted by the people. Otherwise, it will not be observed. On the other hand, how can we possibly adopt a constitution at the time when we are still arguing about the choice of a political or economic system?

[Neponyashcha] **Is that to say that we are not yet prepared to handle this issue?**

[Plyushch] In my opinion, the Constitutional Commission should come up with a concept of our state and the the way it should be governed, and submit it to the Supreme Council. If accepted, it should become a blueprint for legislation introducing this form of governing. So the first stage would be elections to the local representative and executive bodies and to the Supreme Council, or whatever its name will be. Next, a new Supreme Council would adopt a new constitution.

[Neponyashcha] **The legislative sessions resume their work today, and many deputies will call for new social protection programs, which virtually means printing play money and give it out to all the people.**

[Plyushch] There is no way that we can avoid such sentiments—all of us used to live under socialism, and have thus the corresponding mindset. Economics is the mother of politics. Economics teaches that the way people live depends on the way people work. For years we had been preached otherwise: We give you your well-being; we tell you how to live. Who are those who call themselves we? The state and the party—wisdom, honor, and conscientiousness of our epoch. Many people think today that living conditions have worsened because of the wrong power, wrong Kravchuk, wrong Plyushch and Kuchma, and as soon as other people come.... We must tell people up front that the system itself needs to be changed. This understanding is already shared by 40 percent of the population, compared with only 15-20 percent last year; and I hope that this figure will increase to 60 percent next year. I have recently read in your newspaper that five individuals from the village of Semenivka, Baryshivskyy Rayon, applied for a private plot of land. When the village heard the news, the number of applications jumped to more than 100 by the next day. Just think—this happened at a time when private farming had not yet received widespread approval. People are changing by leaps and bounds.

Decree Appoints Defense, Mobilization Department Head

AU1904184893 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 13 Apr 93 p 2

[Text] In accordance with the governmental decree, KONDRAT, O.O. has been appointed as head of Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers Department for Questions of Defense and Military Mobilization Activity.

New Border, Customs Procedures Introduced at Airports

AU2004103393 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 13 Apr 93 p 1

["Myt" (Moment) signed report: "Get Ready for Inspection"]

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers has introduced, from 15 April, compulsory border and customs controls for those bound for those states that have emerged on the territory of the former USSR.

Belarus

Kravchenko, Christopher Discuss Nuclear Policy, Aid

LD2004103893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1221 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Korolev]

[Text] Washington April 20 TASS—The purpose of the official visit of Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko to the United States, which began here on Monday, is to promote and strengthen bilateral relations between the United States and Belarus. His agenda includes meetings with some high-ranking representatives of the Clinton administration to discuss a wide range of bilateral problems, including the fulfilment of start agreements and the non- proliferation of nuclear weapons, as well as problems of American-Belarusian economic relations.

The foreign minister had talks with his American counterpart Warren Christopher. This was the first top-level contact between the Belarusian government and the new U.S. Administration.

Chistopher has assessed highly the Belarusian stand on nuclear weapons, its consistent steps to get rid of nuclear stockpiles and to become a nuclear-free state. He said that the United States had adopted a decision to allocate 65 million U.S. dollars to help dismantle the nuclear weapons that are still deployed on Belarusian territory. He said there were also several other concrete economic aid packages for Belarus, which Washington planned to implement. However, the extent of such aid would depend on the continuation of economic reforms in the republic.

Kravchenko said that both sides were interested in giving a fresh impulse "to cooperation and to the assistance needed to implement an indepth economic reform". Mentioned as possible areas were programmes to establish control over the export of uranium and other radioactive materials, to retrain servicemen and build housing for them, to restore the environment, and to switch over the military industry to peaceful rails. Corresponding Belarusian proposals were handed over to the U.S. secretary of state.

The sides also discussed the possibility of granting broader aid to Belarusian economy, especially its key sectors, and touched on the need to distribute U.S. aid proportionally among the states- successors of the former USSR.

U.S. Experts To Supervise Dismantling of MiG Aircraft

WS1904091393 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 1 Apr 93 p 1

[Article by correspondent Alyaksandr Makarau: "Experts Have Arrived in Belarus."]

[Text] On 31 March, a group of U.S. military experts came to our Republic to control the implementation of the CFE treaty.

The foreign inspectors will visit the "Lesnaya" military facility close to Baranovichi, where the first ten "MiG-27" aircraft will be dismantled. According to the CFE agreement, Belarus must dismantle about 100 military aircraft.

It is a known fact that 66 infantry fighting vehicles, 67 tanks, and 52 armored personnel carriers have already been dismantled.

In addition, 14 infantry fighting vehicles and one tank are prepared to be civilianized.

Shushkevich Answers Questions on CIS, Security Treaty

WS1604132393

[Editorial Report] Minsk Belaruskaje Television Network in Belarusian at 1610 GMT on 15 April broadcasts a live phone-in question-and-answer program with Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich. Shushkevich answers questions from TV viewers who phone in their queries, which are read to Shushkevich by an announcer. Reception ranges from fair to unmonitorable.

At 1611 GMT, Shushkevich talks about the issue of Belarus entering a single, united CIS economic sphere. He hails this idea, stating: "Since the CIS was created, economic union has been the only solution for us .... I have always backed the government, and I want to add that I am a stronger supporter of the economic union than some of them are. Belarus has put forward various proposals, at all the levels. We have concluded various agreements within the CIS, but unfortunately they are not being implemented. Moreover, we were not supported by Russia on the issue of bilateral clearing. We would like to sell and buy goods for rubles and have no customs restrictions."

At 1614 GMT, the announcer mentions the topic of Belarus signing the collective security treaty. Shushkevich says this step would constitute "a change of the entire state structure of the Republic of Belarus. When a state declares its wish to become a nonnuclear and neutral country, and then starts moving just in the opposite direction, this signifies a change in its foreign policy." At 1620 GMT, Shushkevich starts to speculate on the issue of a neutrality. He says: "There is no such thing as a single brand of neutrality for all the times, and for all the countries," mentioning Switzerland, Sweden, and Finland as countries that acquired the status of neutrality in different ways and could serve as good examples for Belarus.

At 1625 GMT, the announcer discusses the possibility of signing the security treaty on certain preferential terms, such as specifying that Belarusian servicemen will never be deployed in hotspots. Shushkevich answers that in his

opinion, "this idea is wrong... because the signing of this collective security treaty violates the Belarusian military doctrine."

At 1635 GMT, the announcer begins a dialogue with Shushkevich on the prospective Republic-wide referendum on the issue of Belarus entering this collective security treaty.

At 1644 the announcer, in the name of one of the television viewers, asks: "Which is better, our union with Russia or with NATO?" Shushkevich disagrees with the formulation of the question and answers that "Belarus has been and currently is in a union with Russia." He calls this "a union based on inertia and habit."

He adds that "as for union with NATO or some other countries, it contradicts the Belarusian military doctrine and its agreements with its neighbors." Then Shushkevich says that under the current circumstances when the national economy is in a critical state, "the 10-percent allocation from the Belarusian state budget for the upkeep of the Army is open madness."

At 1653 GMT, Shushkevich discusses activities of the Belarusian Association of Servicemen, BAS. He supports the program and statute of the BAS, while speaking critically of current BAS activities.

At 1657 GMT, the announcer reads the words of support for Shushkevich's position from a group of faculty from Grodno University.

At 1658 GMT, Shushkevich starts a discussion of social-economic issues. He deals at length with the issue of adopting the law on corruption. He says: "Legal methods should make up the basis for our battle with corruption. We must battle lawlessness, negligence, and embezzlements." Speaking about low wages, pensions, and stipends, Shushkevich says that "people have get their wages, pensions and stipends raised only in the event that the economic situation improves." Then he touches on the state program for construction of housing.

At 1710 GMT, the 60-minute live program ends.

Council of Ministers Outlines Industrial Reform Plan

WS1604101693 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] A regular session of the Belarusian Council of Ministers Presidium, held on 15 April under the chairmanship of Vyacheslav Kebich, drafted a program for the structural reform of industries in the 1990's. The program outlines the following high- tech priorities: machine-tool industry, electronics, instrument building, production of computers and communications equipment, and production of drugs and polymeric construction materials. The reform of state-controlled enterprises is an important stage in the outlined measures. It envisions the privatization of small enterprises with work forces of 100 to 1,000 employees from 1993 to 1994, the closure of businesses that fail to make a profit, and the commercialization of giant state-controlled enterprises.

Demonstrators Demand Government's 'Immediate' Resignation

WS1604133993 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1032 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] "The Mafia is robbing Belarus and selling it out. Once it was done undercover; now it is being done overtly. The administration is going out of its way to 'privatize by all means' [prikhvatizirovat]." Leaflets stating this kind of thing called on people to participate in a rally, "People Against Corruption," staged by the Belarusian National Front and the Independent Trade Union of Belarus.

According to the participants of the rally, personal invitations had been sent to the minister of internal affairs, the KGB chairman, and the general prosecutor—the heads of institutions responsible for combating the Mafia. Neither these invitees nor their representatives took part in the rally, and they were blamed for assisting the corrupt government, which is trading in Belarusian wealth and its national interests.

The participants in the rally were given a list of publications, radio and television programs, and reporters who are in deep water because of their firm stance and unfavorable opinions toward the government. Speaking on behalf of the Belarusian Human Rights League, Supreme Soviet Deputy Evgeniy Novikov proposed that an association of independent mass media be created in order to break the Council of Ministers' monopoly on information.

At the end of the meeting, the participants adopted a resolution demanding the immediate resignation of the Belarusian Government, early Supreme Soviet elections, and a national referendum on signing the joint security treaty. A decision was made to send the texts of some speeches dealing with concrete violations of the law to law enforcement organs in the form of deputy petitions.

Servicemen Association Chairman Comments on Military

WS2004135193 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Belarusian 2 Apr 93 pp 1,2

[Interview with Mikalay V. Statkevich, chairman of the Belarusian Association of Servicemen, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Pressing Interview" rubric: "A Reliable Belarusian Army Is a Matter of a Faraway Future"]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mikalay Viktaravich, in 1992, despite official prohibition, you celebrated the Day of Belarusian Military Glory. Members of the Belarusian Association of Servicemen [BAS] took the oath of allegiance to Belarus and its people. How many paid for this action with their careers?

[Statkevich] About 2,000 persons participated in the action. I mean only those who signed the oath. But there were many others in the military who wanted to put their signature under the oath. But we lacked time, and the lines were too long....

The day before, the officers had been warned about their prospective dismissal if they participated in this action. We did not want to run risks, so we decided that only the BAS chairmanship - fourteen people - would take the oath of allegiance.

Currently, there are only five of them in active service. The other nine people were dismissed for different reasons. I can give you Lieutenant Colonel Savyanok as an example: He was arrested for being drunk, though no special medical tests had been performed. Some days later he was dismissed from the Army. The actual reason was his interview with the newspaper BYALARUSKI CHAS, in which he expressed his indignation with the fact that a corresponding department of the Council of Ministers assigns people to high posts in the Army, although this should be done by the Defense Ministry.

[Correspondent] Recently, you held a BAS Council. What issues did you discuss?

[Statkevich] The implementation of the BAS statute, aims, and program. We spoke much about the patriotic upbringing in our society, about the consolidation of patriotic forces, about the situation in the Army. Many of our problems come from the outside. For instance, some political forces in Russia are discussing the idea of a nonviolent, peaceful revolution. We do not want to be involved in their affairs; so we want a devoted Army.

[Correspondent] Actually, the national Army has been created. but we see that it is devoted to the old ideals of the USSR.

[Statkevich] This is natural. Three years ago we suggested that part of the former USSR Army be transformed into the National Army. But the process turned out to be too slow. We have analyzed the situation and come to the conclusion that the high-ranking military officials do not want any changes. We must change the system of appointing the highest military officials. We have learned that the Council of Ministers (but not the Defense Ministry!) is charged with appointing servicemen to high posts.

The BAS demands that radical changes be introduced into the system of staff search and nomination. We forwarded these proposals to the Belarusian Supreme Council Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich; Vyacheslav Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and to the Defense Ministry. Some replies shortly appeared in the Belarusian mass media which stated that the BAS is a public organization and has no right to interfere with the state affairs. It turns out that Belarusian citizens cannot criticize their state institutions.

Belarusian citizens feel the unreliability of the Belarusian Army. More and more people are becoming BAS members. Constituent assemblies are being held all over Minsk Oblast. On 20 March, a constituent assembly of the BAS city organization was held in Minsk.

[Correspondent] Relations of the BAS with the Defense Ministry were not quite friendly at the time of BAS' creation. Have they improved recently?

[Statkevich] They sure have not! If we had not interfered with the Ministry's affairs, had not looked into the facts of embezzlements and unlawfulness in the Army, our relations could have been better.

It would be better if we could bring our proposals to the attention of the Defense Ministry. But the Ministry refuses to hold contacts with us. We can only address the public. This mode of conduct is not the best solution, especially for those in active service. But silence indicates that everything is going smoothly in the Army although it is not corresponding to reality. Financial losses from embezzlements will soon amount to the budget that will be assigned by the Republic for the maintenance of the Armed Forces. These figures were presented by the Control Chamber of the Belarusian Supreme Council.

In addition, some servicemen of the Belarusian Army are opposed to Belarusian sovereignty. At the Officers' Meeting, General Mazhukhin declared that Belarus needs dictatorship.

The Department for Information within the Defense Ministry is issuing a bulletin on the political situation in Belarus and distributing it in the Army units and institutions. It contains direct insults to Stanislav Shushkevich and doubts the necessity of Belarus' nuclear neutrality. I am sure that if Belarus was a law- abiding state, the authors of this document would have paid for it with their posts. As for Belarus, the servicemen who fight against the independent Republic and the independent Army are enjoying themselves.

Here is one more example. Not long ago, General Ivanov, leader of the Belarusian Union of Officers, insulted our Republic in his speech at the all-army meeting in Moscow. When NARODNAYA GAZETA wrote about this incident, the Defense Ministry backed the general.

[Correspondent] On 23 February, the Belarusian Union of Officers celebrated Soviet Army and Navy Day. Many servicemen participated in this celebration. Well, this is their private affair. But I was shocked to hear insults to the Belarusian legislature and hostile words about the Belarusian laws. This is not the proper behavior of an officer.

[Statkevich] The celebration was organized by the Union of Officers and the Slavic Assembly. They proclaimed the idea of withdrawing from state sovereignty and from the independent Belarusian Armed Forces, and were

insulting Stanislav Shushkevich. By the way, they were tacitly supported by Defense Ministry officials, who were also present at the meeting.

[Correspondent] Recently, DOBRY VECHAR published an article entitled "Officers and Communists Are Together." Later, a delegation of officers came to our editorial office to explain the reason of their union with the communists. According to them, only the communists supported their demands for housing.

In my opinion, the ultra-right forces gain political capital on people's misfortunes.

[Statkevich] You are right; they take advantage of people's hardships. I can give you an example: A draft law on pensions for servicemen was discussed. The chairman of the Socialist Democratic, Gromada Trusov, proposed to adopt it in the first reading. So, the law was adopted. But despite the fact that the law was adopted, reserve officers and communists started to picket the Supreme Council. Later they said that the Democrats adopted the law because they gave up.

There is a mountain of such examples. Some miscalculations of pensions for the reserve officers were made. Sure, their financial status deteriorated. Within a certain time, Gaidukevich, chairman of the Committee for Social Protection of the Servicemen, corrected the error. But there should not be such errors any more. My impression is that artificial barriers are created to provoke the servicemen into illegal actions.

The BAS is also dealing with the issues of the social protection of servicemen: We are holding consultations with the representatives of different political forces who could become our allies. They, in turn, like in the case with the Law "On Pensions for Servicemen," bring in for discussion our mutual proposals at the legislature. By the way, when the package of military laws was discussed at the session of the legislature, the democratic faction did not oppose it at all.

[Correspondent] It turns out that servicemen were used and are being used to win someone's political games. Like it was in Afghanistan. But currently they are being used by different political parties and movements, while before they were manipulated by the government.

[Statkevich] I doubt the political results of such games. You will not make them "fighters for Slavic unity". All they want is the housing.

[Correspondent] I am surprised to see that people who are demanding housing from the government at the same time are against the national sovereignty.

[Statkevich] While in service abroad, Belarusians lost their nationality, language, and culture. They need time to learn their language and culture. But we are transferring Belarusian servicemen to their motherland, and do not care what their political views are.

[Correspondent] The process of Belarussification of the Army is under way. What do you think of introducing a Belarusian consciousness in the Army?

[Statkevich] In my opinion, a lot depends on the commanders. Given the varied nationalities of the servicemen, patriotic upbringing is more effective if the units are headed by officers- patriots. This is clear. The Army is a hierarchical structure: The privates sense the mood of his commanders.

On the whole, studies in the Army are performed in a very formal way.

[Correspondent] Most Belarusians take you for a political oppositional organization. If so, whom do you oppose?

[Statkevich] If we were a political organization, we would fight for power. But we are not taking part in election campaigns and do not support any party. We cooperate with all the movements that are for democracy, independence, and national revival.

We are unanimous with the Defense Ministry: There is political opposition in the Belarusian Army. Furthermore, it plays a dominant role in Army life and opposes the state's constitutional order. This opposition is BAS' opponent.

[Correspondent] The Defense Ministry again questions your right to remain in active service. Is this true?

[Statkevich] The Defense Ministry made five attempts to transfer me into the reserves. The last attempt was made after I had delivered a speech over Belarusian radio and expressed my point of view on the celebration of Soviet Army Day on 23 February. Naturally, my position on this issue differed from that of the Defense Ministry. At first, they wanted to dismiss me, but later they slapped a penalty on me for being interviewed during the working hours—though I know that at the same time, other officers were laying wreaths on Lenin's monument.

[Correspondent] Another example. Students from military schools were taken from their classes and brought to the conference commemorating Russian military leader Alexander Suvorov.

[Statkevich] I have heard about this. I am sure that their commanders were not even reprimanded. This is evidence that the Defense Ministry has different approaches to different holidays.

When we were celebrating the Day of Belarusian Military Glory, they blamed us for stirring up anti-Russian public sentiment. But we did not have a single slogan that debased Russian people or Russian history. Our Defense Ministry is afraid to offend Russia, though it is constantly hurting our national Belarusia feelings. This is the only explanation for their financing and maintenance of the conference in honor of Suvorov. Currently,

Defense Ministry officials claim that they were celebrating the jubilee of the Suvorov military school. Nevertheless, they cannot hide the truth: The Suvorov military school will not turn 40 until Fall 1993.

I am sure that the celebration of the military exploits of the Mongolian Batu Khan [son of Genghis Khan] would hurt Russians. So, what about Belarusians? Are Belarusians supposed to endure everything, though they they are aware of the negative role of Suvorov in the Belarusian history? His men flooded Belarus with bloodshed and deprived Belarus of the remnants of its independence.

We do not dispute Suvorov's heroic deeds, but Belarusians must not honor him.

[Correspondent] Thank you for your time.

[Statkevich] My pleasure. We are going to meet again. The BAS has many plans. We are planning to cooperate with the militia to fight crime. This issue is under discussion. In the very near future, we will be patrolling the streets together and protecting the tranquillity of our citizens.

Moldova

Snegur Views Russian Role in Dniester, Links To Romania

LD1604201093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] In our programs we have previously broadcast extracts from an exclusive interview which Moldovan President Mircea Snegur, which he gave to our correspondent in Chisinau on 15 April. Snegur replied to a number of questions directly relating to Moldova and Russia. In particular, he touched upon the problem of Russia's role in settling the conflict in the Dniester region. President Snegur noted the following:

[Begin Snegur recording] I don't wish to hide the fact that the role of Russia in the matter of a settlement to this conflict is the most direct one which, in point of fact, has already been illustrated by the signing of the agreement of 21 July 1992, an agreement which put an end to the bloodshed. We are aware that Russia has influence on the mentality of the Tiraspol leaders. Russia's 14th Army, which, we do not hide, has direct and very substantial influence on the development of events in this region, is at the moment deployed in Tiraspol and in this part of the republic. Therefore, I believe that Russia's role in a settlement for this problem is a big one. I am satisfied that, at the present moment, we are thinking in one direction with the Russian President, with the Russian Vice President and with their subordinates. Our beliefs and desires go together. [end recording]

Replying to a question by our correspondent regarding the problem of the unification of Moldova and Romania, which earnestly worries the representatives of the Pridniester region, the Moldovan President Snegur replied:

[Begin Snegur recording] We consciously tell our people that we have similar historic roots, that we are brothers, and that we sing the same songs which have been handed down from our forefathers. At the same time we politicians proceed from the realities of the existence of two states. One must look at things realistically, and one must proceed from the fact that we wish to preserve Moldova at the present stage within the same borders with which we left the former Soviet Union, having proclaimed our independence on 27 August 1991. [end recording]

In addition President Snegur spoke about the problems of the present and future of Russian-Moldovan relations. He described the state of these relations as follows:

[Begin Snegur recording] We are able to speak about the very best prospects for them. I can speak about this because our inter- relations are developing, especially in the economic sphere. On the whole we have an understanding. I believe that inter-relations in all remaining spheres should develop in the same way. We hope that in the near future the Russian parliament will ratify the treaty with Moldova. May God help Russia and Moldova this year to ensure that we have a good year in agriculture, in order that we shake off these problems and these worries. Apart from political stability, we have to think about how to feed the people. I am an optimist. [end recording]

For a politician and a statesman, optimism is a very important quality. I remind you that these were excerpts from an interview which the Moldovan President gave to our special correspondent Aleksandr Sladkov in Chisinau.

Moscow Offers Tiraspol Residents Russian Citizenship

AU1804130893 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2045 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Tiraspol BASAPRESS, 15/4/1993—Beginning 22 April, the inhabitants of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic will enjoy the possibility of obtaining Russian citizenship. The representatives of the Consulting Section of the Russian Embassy in Chisinau are going to provide services every Thursday in the building of the local University from Tiraspol to work out the necessary documents, announced the Radio of Tiraspol.

Moscow Continues Cash Deliveries to Dniester

AU1804141193 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1717 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Tiraspol BASAPRESS, 16/4/1993—Reliable sources communicated to a BASAPRESS correspondent that an airplane transporting 4 billion rubles in cash had landed in Tiraspol. Local observers state that Moscow restarted cash deliveries to Tiraspol in order to neutralize critics challenging the President and Government or Russia on the eve of the referendum.

Vyacheslav Zagreadskiy, the Chief of the State Bank of the self- proclaimed Dniester Republic, declared

recently, at the beginning of April, that after former top level talks between Moldova and Russia, the Ministry of External Affairs of Russia issued a special order which had recently been signed by President Boris Yeltsin, through which economic relations between Moscow and Tiraspol were prevented. After the issue of this document, the cash supply to Dniester from Russia was suspended. Zagreadskiy blamed the leadership of Russia for unleashing a cash crisis in the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic also clarifying that Tiraspol managed to obtain, as a result of talks, an important sum of money in cash from Chisinau.

Russian Envoy to Chisinau Views Bilateral Relations

AU1804140693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2045 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 15/4/1993—Everyone is free to choose his friend, but in inter-state relations should be certain in order that other states should know how policies towards Moldova are promoted. Otherwise in the morning sovereignty exists, in the afternoon it does not exist, and tonight appears again, expressed Vladimir Plechko, the Ambassador of Russia in Chisinau in his interview published in the weekly of Russian expression [language] DELOVAYA GAZETA. The statements of the Ambassador concerning the view of relations between Moldova and Romania, were calculated according to the position of Moscow's external policy. According to Plechko, those three people from high ranking staff of Moldova have a much more realistic vision than all their previous forerunners. Releasing his commentaries on the whole context of the evolution of events in Moscow and Chisinau, the Russian diplomat pleaded for a state policy instead of a policy based on a single person which, in his opinion at present prevails in Moldova as well as in Russia. Plechko established that Moldovan television continues "a kind of cold war" against Russia which prevents a reciprocal understanding between Moldova and Russia. The Ambassador reproached the authorities from Chisinau that until now the Russian Embassy has not even its own residence when you take into consideration the fact that Moldova enjoys normal conditions for its diplomatic activity in Moscow.

General Lebed Comments on 14th Army Withdrawal

AU1804141293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1717 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 16/4/1993—General Aleksandr Lebed, while being today questioned by a BASAPRESS reporter, declared with reference to talks between Moldova and Russia regarding the withdrawal of the 14th Army that the latter did not result in creation of concrete ways for resolving the conflict from Dniester. In connection with the withdrawal of missile units from Tighina (Bender), Lebed stated that it should have been evacuated long ago. It is especially concerned with bodies of missiles, their heads having been transported long ago. What concerns the participation of Russia in the de-mining process of lands from the left of Dniester, General Lebed underlined that, although they came to certain agreements, no document which could establish the mechanism of de-mining was signed. "It is not harmful to make illusions, however, concrete results were not noticed," concluded Lebed, also joking that for de-mining lands Dniester deployed two tanks and Moldova - two wolf hounds.

Foreign Ministry Official Views 14th Army Withdrawal

AU1804155093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1630 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 17/4/1993—Declarations by representatives of some political spheres from Russia, which are identical to those of the Dniester leaders, concerning the possibility of the withdrawal of the 14th Army only after Moldova recognizes the special status of the Dniester region provoke riddles and anxiety, declared today during a press conference, Ion Botnaru, the Deputy Minister of External Affairs for Moldova. Such a condition is not included in the Convention of "four" [Moldova, Russia, Romania, and Ukraine] and can infringe upon the process of Moldovan-Russian negotiations, stated the cited source.

Referring to the fourth part of the negotiations concerning the withdrawal of the 14th Army, Botnaru mentioned that "attempts were made to merely discuss the status of the respective Army instead of the three dates concerning its withdrawal."

In addition Botnaru estimated that compared to the summer of last year, the interest of Russia in the mechanism for negotiations of the "four" has declined considerably.

Botnaru also indicated that "today a condition for increasing participants for settling the conflict by consensus between the decisions of the "four" was not considered and will not be fulfilled by the officials of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic". In the opinion of the high dignitary of the Ministry of External Affairs this condition constitutes an attempt to legalize by "small steps" the anti-constitutional structures within the Eastern regions of Moldova."

If Russia does not want to participate in the four-party mechanism, we will endeavor to settle the situation in Dniester by three states—Romania, Ukraine, and Moldova, concluded Botnaru.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Expresses Condolences Over Ozal's Death

LD1804150993 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Yesterday Turgut Ozal, the president of the Turkish Republic and an outstanding political figure, died at the age of 66. In connection with this, President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev expressed profound condolences to the leadership of Turkey, to the Turkish people, and also to the family and relatives of the deceased.

Leaves for Funeral in Turkey

LD2004092893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0907 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 20 Apr—Kazakhstani President Nursultan Nazarbayev went to Turkey today to take part in the funeral of Turkish President Turgut Ozal.

Cabinet Discusses Country's 'Economic Chaos'

LD1804003293 Alma-Ata KAZTAG in Russian 1400 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] The results of the republic's socioeconomic development during the first quarter of 1993 were discussed at a session of the Cabinet of Ministers chaired by Sergey Tereshchenko and attended by the heads of regional, Alma-Ata, and Leninsk city administrations, and the heads of ministries and departments.

It was noted at the session that the work on production stabilization that is being carried out in the localities has not achieved the desired results. Compared to the same period last year, the gross social product decreased by 14.5 percent, produced national income by 16.3 percent, and the volume of industrial output by 11.3 percent.

The situation is no better in agriculture. The volume of production and procurement of all kinds of animal husbandry products is still decreasing, as are the numbers of cattle and poultry, and their productivity. Less oil is being extracted in the republic, and the output of gas and other kinds of fuel is not increasing. Another price increase for fuel in January was quickly followed by a rise in the cost of production of all kinds of food products, consumer goods, transportation, and communal services. All this, taken together, has led to a further decrease in the living standards of the population.

A critical situation has taken shape in the credit and financial sector. On 1 April, cash emissions reached more than 123 billion rubles [R], which is 19 times higher than the relevant period of last year. Naturally, this has sharply aggravated inflationary processes and, as a result, the number of bankrupt enterprises is increasing monthly. For example, consumers of heat and power energy owe more than R116 billion to the power industry. Mutual supplies of raw materials, timber, metals, and other products are being disrupted because of the undeveloped system of settlement of accounts. As a result, since the middle of March, sugar plants have been standing idle, and the republic's only tea packing plant is on the brink of closure.

Will the republic's economy be able to get out of the economic chaos using its own resources? According to the participants of the session, it has all the opportunities to do this. The disrupted economic links with the CIS states should be urgently restored. It remains the main market where the republic can sell and buy all needed goods.

The circulation of money in the country has been hampered lately. In the current situation, its chief motor force is gasoline, oil, diesel fuel, lubricants, power, and transport—products that are not stored and give immediate return. Therefore, we should demand timely payments from enterprises for purchased oil products, fuel, and transport services, which will make it possible to increase the turnover of the ruble several times.

Also noted at the session was the need for urgent introduction of accountability for the state of affairs in the localities. The State Committee for Statistics does not have the required information; therefore, there is no full picture of what is happening where. An opinion was expressed that it is already time to clarify the situation with the customs tariffs. Much is not clear here. Quite often the customs dues are higher than the cost of the raw materials and the goods. In connection with this, we should finally decide who is the boss of the "Baykonur" cosmodrome: Russia or Kazakhstan.

The public sector organizations suffer most because of the increase of prices. Due to the lack of funds in the localities, allocations for culture and maintenance of nursery schools have been curtailed. More than 500 libraries in the republic have been closed recently. This distortion has to be eliminated urgently.

The heads of the administrations and chiefs of ministries and departments were given concrete instructions on realizing the program of the urgent anticrisis measures and on deepening the socioeconomic reforms during the period of stabilization and transition to the market. The Ministry of Economics, for example, was given the task of making proposals on the state regulation of the economy and on protection of the internal market before 1 June, and to submit to the government the draft of the foreign economic policy of the republic before 1 July. The Ministry of Finance and the National Bank should submit their suggestions on regulating mutual payments and formulating technical credit with Russia and the other states of the CIS before 25 April. Other ministries and departments were given instructions on lifting the country out of deadlock.

Prime Minister Tereshchenko summarized the results of the meeting. He said, in particular, that all branches of

the national economy worked badly in the first quarter of the year. Not a single point of the government's program, aimed at lifting the state out of crisis, has been fulfilled. At the moment, it is extremely important to prevent the further decline of production and to stop inflation. The main basis for further actions should be to provide the country with food and medicine and combat crime. The head of government expressed hope that the measures taken by the Cabinet of Ministers will be promptly and clearly implemented.

Supreme Soviet Closing Session Held 15 Apr

LD1604034993 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] The closing session of the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan, which took place with the participation of President Nursultan Nazarbayev, was held on 15 April behind closed doors. On the previous day the Supreme Soviet, after having viewed the report of the Committee on Deputies' Authorities and Human Rights, recognized the plenary powers of newly elected Peoples' Deputies Abdibek Dyusekov, Moukhtar Alimov, Marat Rajibayev, and Talgat Zhakupov. The plenary powers of the deputy, Procurator General of the Republic Zharbakhan Tuyakbayev, ceased ahead of time.

After that the people's deputies adopted the Law on Rehabilitation of the Victims of Mass Political Repressions in its second reading.

On the president's speech the parliament agreed to confirm the ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the republic to other countries. Salim Kurmanguzhin is the ambassador to the Hungarian Republic; Bolatkhan Taijanov, to the Arabic Republic of Egypt; Ibragim Amangaliev, to the Republic of Azerbaijan; Sailau Batyrsha-uly, to the Republic of Uzbekistan; Saginbek Toursounov, to the Federal Republic of Germany; and Auezkhan Kyrbasov, to the Kingdom of Belgium. The Supreme Soviet confirmed the former chief state arbiter of Kazakhstan, Ivan Teterkin, as the chairman of the Higher Arbitrary Court.

The decision on changes in the membership of the Supreme Court was made. Kipshak Baijanov, Valeriy Boulovich, Vladimir Volkov, and Aleksandr Rekin were elected members of the Supreme Court. Chairmen of Almaty and Karaganda city courts have also been elected. Changes to the law on enterprises in the Kazakh SSR were introduced. The parliamentarians have listened to and discussed the amendments to the law on the constitutional court of the Republic of Kazakhstan and on constitutional legal procedures in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Closing the 10th session, Serikbolsyn Abdildin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, said that its results will be discussed and analyzed. Even at present it is clear that very important and significant work was carried out. The decisions adopted by the session are first directed at making the acting legislature compatible with the new Constitution and second, at strengthening the legal basis of the anti-crisis program being currently implemented. The chairman particularly noted the decisions made on property and privatization laws, and on rendering assistance to the rural areas. The integrity of state property, and mechanisms of its proper use and responsibility are legally defined. At the same time, the guarantees of observing the right to property have been strengthened. As far as amendments to the law on privatization and nongovernmentalization, he said, their necessity was caused by the spontaneity in the processes of nongovernmentalization and privatization, as well as by the violation of social justice. Currently these processes are being brought to order and given a planned and irreversible character. The process of introducing joint stocks under state control will enable the entire population of the republic to participate equally in privatization, Serikbolsyn Abdildin stressed. The most important one is the decision on privileged crediting of the agro-industrial complex which is entering the responsible stage of the planting campaign. The head of the parliament expressed his hope that the adopted normative acts will serve as the basis for the government's decisive measures and for the stabilization and rise of the national economy.

The session was declared closed, and the state anthem was performed.

Nazarbayev Decree on Opening Embassies Abroad

LD1904163793 Alma-Ata KAZTAG in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Summary] President Nursultan Nazarbayev has issued three decrees dated 15 April 1993 on opening embassies of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the capitals of Egypt, Belgium, and Hungary in connection with the establishment of diplomatic relations with those countries.

Kyrgyzstan

Parliament Postpones Introduction of National Currency

LD1904174893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1713 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek April 19 TASS—The Kyrgyz Parliament disregarded an appeal of President Askar Akayev and refused to introduce the first national currency in the republic.

Akayev called to immediately introduce the national currency saying that every day of delay aggravates the economic crisis in the Central Asian republic.

However, Speaker Medetkan Sherimkulov refused to put Akayev's proposal to a vote. He called on lawmakers to think well about the question and adjourned the session until May 10.

The speaker said it was necessary to adjourn the session because Akayev is leaving on an official visit to Japan on Monday [19 April] while he himself is going to Turkey to attend the funeral of President Turgut Ozal.

President Arrives in Tokyo on Official Visit

LD2004093593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0802 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo April 20—President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev arrived in Tokyo today on an official visit. During his stay in Japan he will hold negotiations with Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa and will meet Emperor Akihito.

In an interview published on the eve of the visit in the Japanese newspaper "YOMIURI", Akayev said that Japan is giving Kyrgyzstan, which is in a deep economic crisis, the most aid of any of the Western countries. The president called on Tokyo to provide subsidies free for the development of communications and irrigation in addition to humanitarian help of three to three and a half million dollars.

Akayev is the first leader of a former Soviet republic to visit Japan. Sources in the Japanese Foreign Ministry told ITAR-TASS that, in its relations with Kyrgyzstan, Tokyo plans on developing a general model of relations with all the new independent states of Central Asia.

Iranian Culture Minister Holds Talks With Officials

LD1904174393 Tehran IRNA in English 1726 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, April 19, IRNA—The parliament speaker of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan today called for expansion of relations between Tehran and Bishkek.

Medetkan Sherimkulov in his meeting with Iranian Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance 'Ali Larijani in Bishkek, said Iran enjoys a prominent position from the culture point of view among countries with which Kyrgyzstan has diplomatic ties.

Larijani in response lauded the Kyrgyz Parliament for its role in broadening Tehran-Bishkek ties.

The Iranian minister arrived in Bishkek Sunday [18 April] at the head of a delegation and was greeted by the Kyrgyz minister of culture.

Tajikistan

Supreme Soviet Issues Decree on Military Service

LD1904150493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1403 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By TIA "KHOVAR" correspondent Viktor Kozlov for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe April 19 TASS—The Presidium of the Republic of Tajikistan Supreme Soviet has issued a decree signed by head of the parliament Imamali Rakhmonov, calling all citizens, who have reached the age of 18 and have not been granted deferment of military service, to serve in the Armed Forces and frontier guards of the Tajik Republic and units of Russian Army deployed in Tajikistan in April-June 1993.

The Ministries of Defence and Finance and the procurator general of the country have been entrusted with the task of carrying out the recruitment campaign and strictly controlling the observance of the "law on universal military duty" of Tajikistan.

The same decree establishes that Armed Forces personnel and frontier guards of Tajikistan as well as units of the Russian Federation, who are deployed in Tajikistan and have served terms of their service, are to be transferred to the reserve in May-June 1993.

Government Concerned Over Emigration of Russian-Speakers

LD1504151693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1314 GMT 15 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe April 15 TASS—Official circles in Tajikistan are convinced that a radical amendment of some laws rather than populist promises and even the stabilisation of the political situation can stop the mass emigration of Russian-speaking people from the republic.

The Committee for Ethnic Statistics reports that over 150,000 Russian-speaking people left Tajikistan in the last 12 or 18 months, and the outflow continues.

ITAR-TASS learnt from reliable sources that Tajik Parliament Speaker Imamali Rakhmonov intends, among other radical measures, to submit an amendment to the law on the language for the consideration of the next parliament session.

The amendment provides for granting the Russian language an equal right with the Tajik tongue. In the opinion of local analysts, Russian-speaking people saw discrimination of their rights precisely in this law and lack of prospects for their and their children's life in Tajikistan.

"Careless" pronouncements by some opposition leaders (which followed the ratification of the law) about Russians in Tajikistan as hostages accelerated the emigration.

It is planned that the leaders of the Russian community in Tajikistan will submit a proposal on dual citizenship (as a legislative initiative) to the parliament session as well as other proposals on additional social and legal protection of non- indigenous population in the republic.

A high-ranking government official frankly admitted that Tajikistan pursues both political, humane as well as economic aims by adopting these measures. It is an open secret that the core of highly skilled workers and engineers in machine-building, hydropower construction and the electronic industry, leading sectors of science and medicine are Russian-speaking people.

Even now, Tajikistan is facing an acute shortage of skilled specialists virtually in all leading sectors of the economy. The official noted that it will take many years to train Tajik personnel.

If Russians in Tajikistan receive serious social and legal guarantees at a state level, the migration will possibly decelerate and even stop.

Armenia

Defense Spokesman Says Turkey Shipping Arms, Troops to Azerbaijan

NC1604172493 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Report by Narkiz Hakobyan from a news conference held by Armen Dulyan, press secretary of the Armenian Defense Ministry, in Yerevan on 16 April—recorded]

[Text] [Hakobyan] In retaliation for its defeat in Kelbadzharskiy Rayon, the Azerbaijani Army has violated Armenia's borders in recent days and penetrated a few kilometers into Kapanskiy Rayon. Despite the fact that the enemy retreated after a few hours, having suffered considerable losses, this fact in itself shows who is the actual aggressor. Armen Dulyan, press secretary of the Armenian Defense Ministry, stated this today during a news conference.

Dulyan added: On this very day, Bert, Nerkin-Karmiragpyur, and Paravakar in Tavushskiy Rayon were shelled early in the morning. Our fighters were forced to silence a number of enemy firing positions and occupied some strategic heights.

Referring to the recent provocative reports by Azerbaijani and other news agencies about the occupation of Kelbadzharskiy Rayon, Dulyan said:

[Dulyan] They are spreading all kinds of provocative reports. Above all, they claim that it was not the Armenians but the Russians who occupied Kelbadzharskiy. What is the aim of such claims? In my view, the basic aim—and here I want to refute once again these baseless reports and to declare that there is not a single Russian soldier in Karabakh or Kelbadzharskiy Rayon, and that we and the Russian Army Command have already refuted this a number of times—is to justify the growing interference by Turkey in the conflict between Karabakh and Azerbaijan.

According to the latest information, in recent days Turkey has been transporting large amounts of ammunition and troops from Turkey to Nakhichevan. The flow of convoys into Nakhichevan is virtually endless. Nearly 30 vehicles are entering Nakhichevan each day. From there the ammunition and troops are being transported to Gyandzha—that is, to Azerbaijan proper—on civilian airplanes.

I can say that it appears our government will warn Turkey that if military hardware and volunteers are transported by civilian planes, our side will take the appropriate measures. You know that we have this capability. Armenia has air-defense forces—such forces also exist in Karabakh—and it is not difficult to put them into action [gortsi dnel].

I would like to add that Azerbaijan probably will not accept its latest defeats and that the military operations may intensify. For that reason, the Armenian Defense Ministry calls on all those who can carry arms and have fighting experience to join the volunteer units being formed. Our fatherland's borders are under threat, and all of us, the entire Republic, are obligated to defend ourselves.

[Akobyan] Concluding, Dulyan briefed reporters on the statement issued today by the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic State Information and Press Department. That statement said that Karabakh's forces have not entered Azerbaijani territory and have no intention of occupying Fizuli, but that the Azerbaijanis still control a number of settlements in Gadrutskiy and Martuninskiy Rayons. The statement also noted that the Karabakh Armed Forces Command is ready to halt all military operations as of today in these regions bordering Azerbaijan and invites international observers there.

Turkish Ambassador Denies Turkey Supplying Weapons

NC1604163493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1437 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Baku, April 16 (SNARK)—Today the Russian mass media spread the information of Turkish weapon supply to Azerbaijan. In connection with the fact, the TURAN news agency required Altan Karamanoglu, the Turkish ambassador to Baku, relating any commentary on the information. "The information on any military cargoes deliveries from Turkey to Azerbaijan is a provocation pursuing the goal to excuse the support of some countries to Armenia". Turkey sent to Azerbaijan not military but humanitarian cargoes for the refugees from Kelbadzharskiy and blockaded Nakhichevan. In the ambassador's opinion, disinformations of such kind are to help the countries which are to resolve their geopolitical problems screened by those disinformations.

President Sends Condolences to Turkey on Ozal's Death

NC1904201593 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan sent a cable of condolence on 17 April to the speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly over the death of the Turkish President Turgut Ozal.

Vice President Visits Uruguay 12-13 Apr

NC1604120693 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Armenian Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan paid an official visit to Uruguay on 12-13 April at the invitation of Uruguayan President Luis Alberto Lacalle Herrera. Arutyunyan held frank and friendly talks with the president of Uruguay. They discussed the current level of relations between the two countries and prospects for further development.

Gagik Arutyunyan invited the president of Uruguay to visit Armenia, and the invitation was gratefully accepted.

The Uruguayan Government expressed readiness to closely examine and ratify the (?text) of an agreement on economic cooperation that was submitted by the Armenian delegation.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Chile

NC1704055293 Yerevan SNARK in English 0755 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, April 16 (SNARK)—Yesterday, on April 15, Armenia and Chile signed the protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations. The protocol was signed in Moscow by Feliks Mamikonyan, permanent representative of Armenia to Moscow, and James Holger, the Chile permanent and plenipotentiary ambassador in Russia. James Holger is of the opinion that as the Armenian nation is famous for the culture traditions and the agreement will contribute to the development of political and culture relations between two states. The fact of the diplomatic relations establishment is of great importance for those Armenians who contribute to the positive processes taken place in Chile now. Speaking on the Karabakh problem James Holger considers that the suggestions Boris Yeltsin made on the Karabakh problem regulation should be realized and it will do for the stabilization of the situation in the region.

Azerbaijan

Envoy to U.S. Meets Clinton, Receives Letter for Elchibey

NC1604144393 Baku TURAN in English 1224 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Baku, 16 April (TURAN)—Ambassador of Azeribaijani Republic in the USA Akif Mirkelam oglu Pashayev handed credential on April 14 to President of the USA Bill Clinton. A half hour's talk of the ambassador of Azerbaijan with the president of the USA took place in the course of the official ceremony.

By information of the press-service of the Republic, Pashayev acquainted Clinton with situation in Azerbaijan arisen after occupation of the region of Kelbadzharskiy and position of Baku according to this question.

Clinton says in his return letter to President of Azerbaijan Elchibey that the USA greets adherence of Azerbaijan to democratic reforms and drawing of foreign capital into economics. Insistence of Azerbaijan in reorganization of its political and economical system is greeted by the President of the USA.

Clinton expressed his hope that the decision of American Congress on economical sanctions in respect to Azerbaijan will be soon abolished.

It is expressed also regret in accordance with the conflict of Nagorno-Karabakh which complicates the way of Azerbaijan to market economy and creation of democratic society. The President of the USA expressed his hope that constant negotiations will lead to peaceful regulation of Karabakh problem.

2-Day Cease-Fire Declared in Response to CSCE Request

TA2004112793 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1000 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] Azerbaijan and Armenia have declared a two-day cease-fire in the Kelbadzhar region occupied by Armenian units.

The Azerbaijani presidential spokesman stated that the cease-fire has been declared in response to the request of a CSCE observation team that will conduct investigations in the region.

Azerbaijani-Turkish Agency announced that the cease-fire, which will go into effect tonight at 0000 local time [2100 GMT], may be extended should a request to that effect be presented by the CSCE delegation.

The CSCE delegation will conduct studies in the region to prepare a report on the clashes that are continuing in the Nagorno-Karabakh area and to examine conditions for declaring an ongoing cease-fire.

The delegation, which will go to the region today, is expected to prepare its report on the issue after a meeting with the Baku government.

Gasymov Approves UN Draft Resolution on Karabakh Conflict

NC1904073893 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0400 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] A briefing was held yesterday for foreign and local correspondents at the Foreign Ministry. Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov outlined reaction from international political circles to the latest incidents in Kelbadzhar and explained his visit to Washington. He also detailed the international organizations' position regarding the peaceful settlement of the Azerbaijani-Armenian dispute and outlined problems related to the upkeep of the refugees. Gasymov later replied to correspondents' questions.

Meanwhile, Gasymov has positively assessed the draft resolution on the Azerbaijani-Armenian dispute, which the UN Security Council will debate. According to Gasymov, the reference made in the draft to the local Armenian armed groups, as opposed to the statement by the chairman of the UN Security Council, has been replaced with the term ethnic Armenians. That means that the UN Security Council agrees that not only the Armenians in Karabakh, but also those in Armenia, France, Lebanon, and other countries are taking part in the war.

The draft calls for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal from the occupied territories.

Elchibey Receives CSCE Delegation, Seeks Settlement With Armenia

LD1804180993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1750 GMT 18 Apr 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Aslan Aslandy for TASS]

[Text] Baku April 18 TASS—Azeri President Abulfaz Elchibey received on Sunday a delegation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) staying here for the familiarisation with the situation in the region and to prepare the arrival in the zone of the conflict of 600 observers from that international organisation.

The president said at the meeting that Azerbaijan continues to adhere to the quest of peaceful political ways of settlement of the conflict between two Transcaucasian republics in the framework of the Minsk CSCE conference.

Elchibey asserted that the operation for the seizure of the Kelbadzhary district of Azerbaijan was implemented by a corps of the Armenian Army.

Turkey Sends Humanitarian Aid to Baku, Nakhichevan

PM2004101193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 93 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Turkey Has Sent Freight with Humanitarian Aid to Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan"]

[Text] A Turkish Air Force military aircraft landed in Baku with 13,500 tonnes of blood, plasma, and food. At the same time a convoy of seven trucks set off for Nakhichevan. They are bringing flour, margarine, and sugar. The Turkish Government has said that "our Azerbaijani brothers must be helped in their time of difficulty."

President's Office Denies Receiving Turkish Military Aid

LD1704083993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] The press service of the president of Azerbaijan has denied Armenian-sourced reports of military aid to Baku from Ankara. It is claimed that this is impossible since the appropriate interstate treaties do not exist. Furthermore, Turkey is part of NATO, and any support for another country has to be agreed in advance with the members of that bloc.

Foreign Minister Comments on Iranian, Turkish Aid

NC1504184993 London Kanal-6 Television in Turkish 1630 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov has refuted claims that his country has asked for military help from Iran. In a statement to Kanal-6 upon his return from a visit to the United States, Gasymov drew attention to Russia' efforts to maintain its existence in the Caucasus.

Gasymov said that Russia has no intention of withdrawing from the Caucasus. He assessed Russia's position on the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict from this angle. There are Russian soldiers among the Armenians attacking us, and Russian-made weapons are being used, he said.

Gasymov said he believes Russia's mediation effort between the two countries is insincere. Russia's aim is to obstruct the international talks and thereby save Armenia.

Gasymov announced that Azerbaijan will participate in the peace talks within the CSCE framework only if Armenia withdraws from Kelbadzharskiy Rayon.

Stressing that they did not ask for military assistance from Iran, Gasymov said that the Azerbaijani public finds Turkey's assistance insufficient.

The Foreign Ministry said:

[Begin Gasymov recording in Azeri] Our people have certain expectations of Turkey. The people think Turkey is providing far less assistance than needed and that it could have done more. Of course, this is the public's view. I leave this issue for the Turkish Government to decide. It can render help to the degree it sees fit. [end recording]

Elchibey: Ozal's Death 'Great Loss' for Turkey, Azerbaijan

LD1704213193 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] President Elchibey of Azerbaijan says the death of the Turkish President Turgut Ozal on Saturday is a great loss, both to Turkey and Azerbaijan. Mr. Elchibey's address to the nation was reported by the Azerbaijani news agency TURAN. His spokesman, in a telephone interview with REUTERS, said Mr. Ozal's death must have been brought forward by the bitter feeling he experienced while watching the tragedy of Azerbaijan following Armenian aggression.

To Attend Funeral

NC1904140493 Baku TURAN in English 1309 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Baku April 19 (TURAN)—President Abulfaz Elchibey visited yesterday Embassy of Turkey in Baku and consoled with ambassador of Turkey in Azerbaijan Altan Karamanoglu in connection with untimely death of President of Turkey Turgut Ozal.

As the press-service of the president informs Abulfaz Elchibey will leave tomorrow for Ankara to take part in the ceremony of burial of Turgut Ozal.

All cultural and massed measures are abolished in Baku and other towns of Azerbaijan in connection with mourning apropos of the death of Turgut Ozal.

Gasymov Views Russia's Efforts To Stop Conflict

NC1904153693 Baku TURAN in English 1328 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Baku 19 April (TURAN)—By opinion of Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan Tofik Gasymov last initiatives of Russia in regulation of Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict will not achieve its purpose being insulated from peacemaking process under the CSCE because Russia has its interests in the region.

Gasymov announced in the course of the briefing in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the conflict, may be regulated only in the result of joint efforts of states, neutrality of which may expedite achievement of peace in the region.

Gasymov marked also that suggestion of Russia on unconditional cease-fire is unacceptable for Azerbaijan because agreement to cease fire without withdrawal of armed forces of Armenia from Kelbadzharskiy means consolidation of occupation of Kelbadzharskiy.

By the words of the minister of foreign affairs, Russia came forward recently with a new suggestion to cease fire, to withdraw sub-units from Kelbadzharskiy and carry out parallel negotiations. Gasymov considers that conducting of such negotiations may attract Security Council of the UN away from the main task-discussion of aggression of Armenia against Azerbaijan.

Gasymov announced that Azerbaijan is ready to continue negotiations stopped in Geneva as soon as the region of Kelbadzharskiy will be released from occupation sub-units.

Russian Proposal on Troops in Kelbadzharskiy Said Rejected

NC1604140593 Baku TURAN in English 1108 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Baku, 16 April (TURAN)—The TURAN agency was informed by the source in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia about suggestion of Andrey Kozyrev to quarter peacemaking forces of Russia and the UN in the region of Kelbadzharskiy of Azerbaijan. The same source informed of agreement of Azerbaijan as if it took place.

As the TURAN agency was informed in the press-service of the president of Azerbaijan, suggestion of Andrey Kozyrev to quarter peacemaking forces of Russia in the region of Kelbadzharskiy was not accepted by the Azerbaijani side. Baku insists on unconditional withdrawal of all Armenian sub-units from the territory of Kelbadzharskiy, as it was marked in the statement of the Security Council of the UN.

Interior Minister Submits Resignation

NC1604130393 Baku TURAN in English 1224 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Baku 16 Apr (TURAN)—Minister of Internal Affairs of Azerbaijan Iskender Khamidov sent for his resignation. The TURAN agency was informed about this by the informational source in the government of the republic.

Resignation is not yet accepted, but Khamidov has already carried out his personal things from working cabinet in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Resignation of Khamidov will be, supposedly, accepted. As it is known scandalous activity of this figure on the post of the minister of internal affairs arose the largest criticism from right as well as left.

Elchibey Names Replacement

NC1604182093 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] President Abulfaz Elchibey has issued a decree appointing Abdullah Guseyn ogly Allakhverdiyev as interior minister.

In view of Iskender Khamidov's wish to resign, President Elchibey has issued a decree relieving him of his responsibilities as interior minister.

Former Chief of Staff Arrested for Military 'Failures'

LD1504215193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Former Chief of General Staff of the Azerbaijan Defense Ministry, Gen. Shain Musayev, was arrested today in Baku. He was arrested for being responsible for the major military failures of the Azeri army in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Nakhichevan's Aliyev Discusses Conflict, Issues

NC1904171493 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 11 Apr 93 p 14

[Tolga Sardan report: "Azerbaijanis Do Not Know How To Fight"]

[Text] Nakhichevan—Nakhichevan Supreme Assembly Chairman Geydar Aliyev has expressed his views on the clashes between Azerbaijan and Armenia for the first time to MILLIYET. Aliyev received MILLIYET's correspondents in the Nakhichevan Supreme Assembly building in Nakhichevan. He said Turkey has done all it can about the problem in the region.

Aliyev mentioned that if Armenian attacks the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, he can ask Turkey to send military units on the basis of the treaty of guarantee, which is still valid: "Military units are not required now.

We would ask for military units if they were needed. However, the border with Armenia is quiet. No attacks have taken place."

Aliyev said he did not ask for military units during his talks with President Turgut Ozal two months ago or with Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel 20 days ago. He also said Armenian officials he met some time ago agreed not to attack Nakhichevan. Aliyev said: "I met with President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and Speaker Babken Araktsyan. We agreed on the matter."

Asked whether "the increasing Armenian attacks can be linked to the political disputes in Azerbaijan," Aliyev said: "I do not wish to reply to your question in detail. The internal dispute in Azerbaijan is not the reason for the increasing attacks. The Armenians seem to be strong because the Azerbaijanis do not know how to fight; they are unsuccessful. The Armenians also attacked Nakhichevan but were forced to retreat quickly."

He discussed claims that the Soviet Red Army [as published] supports the Armenians, saying: "It is true that several Red Army units are based in Armenia. Azerbaijani officials have said Russian troops support Armenia. However, Russian officials have denied this. I do not have any information on the issue. Consequently, I do not wish to reply to your question in detail. I met with Azerbaijani officials, including President Elchibey, 10 days ago. They did not ask for help. They are solving their problems themselves. They do not need my help."

Aliyev and other members of the Nakhichevan administration have said they have put into effect very effective military measures in the Sadarak, Khavush, and Gyunnut border districts after Armenia's attacks. Intense efforts have been observed in those districts to fortify the border areas. The Nakhichevan administration has also approached Iranian officials to secure access to Azerbaijan through Iran. Aliyev said the construction of a road linking Nakhichevan with Azerbaijan has begun in Iran. The work began after he held talks with the Iranian officials on the matter.

Visiting Swiss Finance Minister, Businessmen Discuss Grants

NC1904140593 Baku TURAN in English 1309 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Baku, April 19 (TURAN)—Group consisted of 38 businessmen with [Swiss] Minister of Finances Otto Stich is in Baku. Executive Director of International Bank of Reconstruction and Development Jean Pol Herber is in the staff of Swiss group.

Otto Stich said at the press-conference which took place in Baku on 18 April that the aim of arrival of Swiss businessmen in Azerbaijan is discussion of question of granting of the Swiss credit. By the minister's words the volume of credit amounts 800 mln. [million] dollars. Priority will be given not state enterprises but private ones, marked Stich. He justified it by the fact Switzerland comes out for deepening of marketing processes in Azerbaijan. By the minister's words the prolonged war in Azerbaijan does not frighten the Swiss business.

Georgia

Foreign Minister Meets U.S. Ambassador

LD1604152493 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] On 15 April, Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze received U.S. Ambassador Kent Brown. The ambassador acquainted the minister with the results of the Vancouver meeting between U.S. President Clinton and Russian President Yeltsin, and stressed that the U.S. Administration was watching closely the processes under way in the former republics, and in Georgia in particular. President Clinton drew Boris Yeltsin's attention to the fact that he should help settle conflicts in a peaceful way in the former Soviet Union.

Aleksandr Chikvaidze thanked the U.S. Government for supporting Georgia's authorities in carrying out democratic reforms in the republic. The minister acquainted the ambassador with the results of the visit of head of state Eduard Shevardnadze to Ukraine. He also noted that agreements had been reached and a packet of documents had been signed, including the agreement on friendship, cooperation, and mutual help between Ukraine and the Republic of Georgia. The sides came to the conclusion that the results of the meeting between Eduard Shevardnadze and Leonid Kravchuk gave a different quality to the relations between the two sovereign countries. It will help bring the Georgian and Ukrainian people closer and achieve international stability and security.

They touched on the issues of support for democratic forces in Russia before the referendum. The sides discussed issues of mutual interest issues and the prospects of strengthening cooperation between Georgia and America.

Shevardnadze Urges Moscow To Upgrade Ties, Hold Summit

MK1504104893 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 16, 18 Apr 93 (Signed to Press 13 Apr) p A7

[Article by Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of parliament and head of state: "Georgia and Russia Must Not Be at War"]

[Text] Talks between Russian and Georgian delegations have ended in Sochi. They were headed by Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua. The initiative to hold a meeting of this particular kind originated with the Russian side. We agreed to it because any talks are useful in terms of defining approaches to the solution of the problems that have accumulated. But determining in a definitive way what

kind of relations Russia and Georgia will have will undoubtedly require a summit meeting.

I am ready—and I have repeatedly said so in public—to meet with President Yeltsin. In Moscow, Tbilisi, or any other city. I do understand that the Russian president faces lots of domestic difficulties in his own state. But I am confident that without establishing normal relations between our states in general, specific conflicts are unlikely to be resolved.

The Russian and Georgian peoples have lived together for centuries and were never at war with each other. These are kindred peoples that are close in spirit and tradition. For the first time in history they have clashed in an armed conflict—on Abkhaz soil. Russian generals do not deny that it is Russian aircraft that have been bombing Sukhumi... A total of 110 people, including 35 Russians, have been killed recently as a result of the bombing raids!

Neither the Georgian nor the Russian government could have had an interest in unleashing the conflict. Why should they, if thousands of economic and social problems back home are yet to be resolved, if a new statehood is to be built? Nor do I think that they in Abkhazia are very much enthralled by the idea of war... So who is playing the Abkhaz card? The mafia, it is said. Undoubtedly it has always profited from the pain and suffering of others. But not just it alone. There are other forces that are eager to capitalize on Russian-Georgian contradictions in a different way, this time politically.

Such forces have always existed, and for decades: even in the Soviet epoch, they tried to exploit entirely natural ethnic differences. If this is remembered, the actions of military commanders serving in Abkhazia become understandable. Otherwise, it is impossible to explain why the Russian Army sometimes appears to be acting as some independent force that the "center" scarcely manages to control. In reality, though, it is the "center," the Russian Supreme Soviet, that authorizes the direct intervention in the affairs of a sovereign Georgia.

The Russian parliament has repeatedly passed resolutions that offend the Georgian state and each Georgian citizen. At present, it is being persistently suggested that the question of Abkhazia's joining the Russian state be discussed there. There is allegedly a treaty whereby the Abkhaz principality joined Russia in 1810. But it is in this fashion that all the other Georgian principalities joined Russia at that time. Does this mean that the territory they used to occupy then is still part of Russia?

If the discussion continues in this tone we will be unlikely to achieve the end of bloodshed and the settlement of the conflict. The only constructive path is a path of dialogue. I have been saying this from the very outset when the first incidents occurred and the first blood was spilled. I continue to say this now. I immediately agreed to mediation by the Russian leadership, and we have enthusiastically set out devising measures to eradicate the roots of this conflict. President Yeltsin played an important role in the preparation of the agreement that was signed in Moscow on 3 September of last year. This agreement was welcomed both in Georgia, and in Russia and Abkhazia. But, unfortunately, it never worked.

What is to be done now? I am still convinced that the foundation for the settlement is laid down precisely in this agreement. But if Russia is to retain the mission of a mediator, it must not turn into one of the warring sides. So far, though, all the Russian actions only add to the escalation of tensions in Abkhazia. The Abkhaz conflict has been actively exploited as a pretext for slowing down the development of Russian-Georgian relations. We have a whole package of draft documents prepared for discussion: a general treaty, economic agreements, and agreements on the status of troops and on the time period of their stay in Georgia... But the Russian Supreme Soviet effectively prohibits the government from conducting negotiations with us on economic problems and some other matters until settlement in Abkhazia is achieved. However, I am ready to repeat again and again: Any "particular" conflict can only be finally resolved on the basis of clear-cut interstate relations.

Shevardnadze Calls Yeltsin's 'Incorrect Information' 'Dangerous'

AU1604132993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Boris Yeltsin's recent press conference gave rise to gossip. It was said that the president was unprepared for the meeting with representatives of the [words indistinct] while reporters from opposition papers maintain that the Russian president was drunk. Boris Yeltsin gave confusing answers to many questions, including one from us as to when he intends to meet with Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Eduard Shevardnadze in connection with the Abkhaz problem. He replied: Georgia is in a difficult situation. There is no peace in South Ossetia, Abkhazia, Ajaria, anywhere. All want to join Russia although we do not need this. I am a supporter of Georgian unity but, one way or another, there is war there. If I felt that Shevardnadze would [word indistinct] withdraw those extra army units from Abkhazia that were sent there, I would meet him.

This statement is as incomprehensible for me as it is for you, stated Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze at the parliamentary session on 15 April in connection with Russian President Boris Yeltsin's answer concerning the expected meeting between the leaders of the two countries at a press conference in Moscow yesterday. He said: I am left with the impression that the president has incorrect information although we have good relations with his services and such information should not be given to them. The statement that Ajaria, Abkhazia, and so-called South Ossetia have demanded to become a part of Russia is (?naive). I do not think that one can find a single person in Ajaria who wants this. It is obvious that incorrect information confused the president. This is dangerous. It could cost us dearly. It is clear, continued

Eduard Shevardnadze, that the President has caught the illness of certain circles in Russia, as if it was possible for Abkhazia to became a part of Russia or a Russian protectorate [words indistinct]. However, they are not thinking about the fact that this is impossible in practice. Let us say that 100 percent of Abkhaz wanted this but would the 50 percent of Georgians agree to this? [reference to the fact that the population of Abkhazia is made up of approximately 17 percent Abkhaz and almost 50 percent Georgians] No one is thinking about this. This is the argument [words indistinct] deliberately done to preserve destabilization. Or, let's take so-called South Ossetia. Everyone knows well that no one will accept the statements they are making; the world does not recognize (?such a reality) but nevertheless they are adopting certain resolutions. All this must be viewed without excessive emotion. There were such fragments, more precisely the phrase, in President Yeltsin's statement that he was a supporter of Georgian unity. Therefore, it is possible that his statement consists of incorrect information or is connected with the referendum, said Eduard Shevardnadze in conclusion.

Shevardnadze Criticizes Russian Support for Abkhazia

PM1904100893 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 17 Apr 93 p 15

[Interview with head of state Eduard Shevardnadze by Marco Ansaldo in Tbilisi; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Shevardnadze] Russia has the power to destroy Georgia. And there is at least a good proportion of politicians who want to do so. The Russian defense minister, the Army, and the most extremist forces in the Moscow parliament want to dismember our country. But they must realize that if there really is a war, every Georgian is prepared to die in self-defense. [passage omitted]

[Ansaldo] Mr. President, local conflicts are prostrating Georgia and undermining its relations with Moscow. How do you intend to resolve this?

[Shevardnadze] The best solution would be to find a peaceful and bloodless agreement, but unfortunately this path does not seem to be working. Abkhazia is the most troublesome problem for us. The main obstacle is the Russian military forces that support the rebels.

[Ansaldo] What charges do you level at Moscow?

[Shevardnadze] There are some still very influential sectors that want to destroy Georgia. They want Tbilisi to be left in the quagmire, reduced to a kind of colony. They have fragmented this country into little pieces, as they are doing with Abkhazia. But they must realize that the Georgian people are willing to die over this.

[Ansaldo] Boris Yeltsin refuses to receive you in order to reach an agreement....

[Shevardnadze] There was an agreement with Yeltsin, but he later set a precondition. He wants the Georgian troops to withdraw from Abkhazia, while the Russian troops still remain in Tbilisi. He considers this quite normal. That is a strange logic, is it not?

[Ansaldo] But leaving aside the conflict with Russia, Georgia's main problem is its economy.

[Shevardnadze] Yes, this is perhaps the most difficult problem to resolve. The whole economic system needs to be rebuilt here, and this requires many investments, which are limited here. We fear a period of famine. The next three years will be crucial.

[Ansaldo] Thinking back over the seven years in the Kremlin, do you think that Gorbachev could have accelerated the reform process?

[Shevardnadze] Definitely, yes. We knew that there were things that should be done, but we did not do them in time.

[Ansaldo] Are you still in touch with him?

[Shevardnadze] We were, and remain, friends, but we do not talk about politics. We talk, rather, about personal matters.

[Ansaldo] At the personal level, do you not think that, after so long a time in the limelight of international politics, you could not have devoted yourself to university teaching, writing books....

[Shevardnadze] Yes, maybe.

Shevardnadze Plans To Meet Yeltsin After Referendum

LD1904164593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1618 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Tbilisi April 19 TASS—Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze plans to meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin after the April 25 referendum in Russia. "I hope we shall find a way out from the deadlock in which Russian-Georgian relations are", Shevardnadze told reporters on Monday.

"Georgia, as well as other former Soviet republics, is vitally interested in goodneighbourly relations with Russia, and, therefore, it is interested in the democratic development of events in Russia," he added.

Russia has its own interests in Georgia, he noted. It is not by chance that Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev, a noted figure in the Russian hierarchy, spoke about this. Regrettably, Russia was too late in apprehending changes taking place in Transcaucasia.

Some of its politicians were especially annoyed that Georgia drafted and conducted its own policy independent of Russia. Such exasperation is a particular feature of great powers and was always characteristic of Russia, according to Shevardnadze.

Asked whether the negative perception of changes in Georgia by some Russian quarters is linked with his personality, Shevardnadze said that he is "an eyesore" for some people in Russia.

"Georgia is a small country, and, therefore, it wins its freedom and independence at the expense of many sacrifices, but all this should be done," the Georgian leader noted. "This is understandable for the world public supporting democratic changes in Georgia".

"It is not for nothing that the U.S. President, the German chancellor and leaders of other states call Boris Yeltsin's attention to the events in Georgia, while the U.N. Security Council adopted two resolutions on this problem."

Speaking of the Ukrainian-Georgian talks, Shevardnadze flatly refuted an opinion that the established relations between the two countries are allegedly spearheaded against Russia.

"Indeed, we attach great importance to the ongoing dialogue with Ukraine," he stressed. "But relations with it are built not to the detriment of any other country, including Russia.

"On the contrary, close, friendly and equal relations between Ukraine and Georgia will help establish the same relations between Russia and Georgia and between Russia and Ukraine," Shevardnadze said.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on Ties With Israel, Russia

TA1604114293 Tel Aviv HADASHOT (HASHAVU'A supplement) in Hebrew 16 Apr 93 pp 18, 19

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, head of state and parliament chairman, by Elinora Lev at the parliament building in Tbilisi on 14 April]

[Text] [Lev] How would you sum up relations between Georgians and Jews?

[Shevardnadze] Georgians and Jews have been living together for 2,600 years, sharing happiness and sorrow. Today, Georgia is fighting for its independence, and we appreciate the aid extended to us by Jews in Israel and in other countries. I am happy to point out that very good relations exist between Georgia and Israel. We have already exchanged several delegations, and cooperation has been expanding in the economic, cultural, and other fields. I would like to thank the Israeli Government for the warmth it bestows on Georgian delegations.

[Lev] Would you be willing to visit Israel?

[Shevardnadze] Of course, definitely, but it is too early to talk about it. If I am invited, I will come. In the meantime, we are discussing a visit by Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres to our country at a yet undecided date. It will be a very important visit.

[Lev] How can Israel and Georgia help each other?

[Shevardnadze] They can cooperate in all fields. What we consider important, however, is to learn from your expertise how to build an independent country in times of war. Your experience in building a national economy is very important to us. In addition, there is great potential for cooperation in scientific areas.

[Lev] Including the military sphere?

[Shevardnadze] We must wait and see. We have not yet gotten to discussions on military issues.

[Lev] Radio Abkhazia recently reported that you have been receiving weapons from Israel through Ya'aqov Nimrodi.

[Shevardnadze] I ask you to travel all over Georgia and see whether there is one Israeli weapon here. As for Nimrodi, the man indeed came to Georgia two or three weeks ago. That is no secret; the papers wrote about it. We discussed trade and food imports. We talked about the supply of rice, chicken, and lamb. I do not know what will come out of it, but so far there has been no agreement. We can also export goods to you. We talked about Georgia exporting its famous mineral water to Israel. Many people like Nimrodi have been coming to our country recently, and a great deal of interest has been shown by international businessmen. Sometimes this yields results, and sometimes it does not. The reports about Israeli weapons originated with the Russian security services, which support the Abkhasian radicals. I hereby announce that we are not getting weapons from Israel. But, say we were getting such weapons, does that make the fact that the Russians are giving arms to the Abkhasians all right?

[Lev] Could you try your hand at mediating in the Arab-Israeli conflict based on the international prestige you enjoy?

[Shevardnadze] There is such a chance, but first I must solve our problems.

[Lev] You said you would be willing to use your relations with Tehran to ascertain the fate of Ron Arad.

[Shevardnadze] I visited Tehran not long ago, and I discussed the issue there, and we agreed to discuss it once again in Tbilisi when the Iranian foreign minister comes for a visit. I will be able to give you more details then.

[Lev] Could you just tell us whether Ron Arad is alive?

[Shevardnadze] It is very hard for me to answer this question at this point, because I want the negotiations to continue, and I am afraid that unnecessary talk might harm him. There is no doubt, however, that this will be one of the most important issues I will raise with the Iranian foreign minister.

[Lev] As you know, there is a great deal of anxiety in Israel about the Iranian missiles. What do you think about this threat?

[Shevardnadze] I think that once the Middle East conflict is resolved, it will also be possible to solve the problem of Iran and Israel.

[Lev] Are you not anxious about Iranian fundamentalism?

[Shevardnadze] We are anxious about Bolshevik fundamentalists, about everything coming from the north (meaning Russia—author's note). I think the best policy is not to isolate any country, including Iran, because this only plays into the hands of the extremists. Georgia, too, was isolated for several months, and this exacted a heavy toll from us.

[Lev] What is Georgia's orientation today?

[Shevardnadze] It is frequently said that we have a Western orientation, and we definitely have many friends in the West. This does not mean that we do not have good relations with our neighbors; certainly with Turkey, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and with Iran. For instance, yesterday I returned from Ukraine, where I signed a friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid agreement. I will soon visit Kazakhstan. The idea today is to set up a Baltic-Caucasian axis encompassing all the new independent states from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea which are fighting for independence, with Ukraine—a strong and key state—at its center.

[Lev] What do you think will happen in Russia?

[Shevardnadze] Russia's future depends on the 25 April referendum. If it chooses to follow a democratic course, it will have a future. If it chooses to tread a totalitarian path, it will have no future.

[Lev] Does Yeltsin have a future?

[Shevardnadze] If he does not make a mistake, he still has a chance.

[Lev] What sort of relations do you have with Mikhail Gorbachev?

[Shevardnadze] Our relations were good in the past and have stayed that way, although at present they are mainly conducted over the phone.

[Lev] Do you think perestroyka was a mistake?

[Shevardnadze] The USSR was bound to collapse. What happened in our country and throughout Eastern Europe was the revolution of our lifetime, the revolution of the 20th century. Although some bad things happened, it was an almost bloodless revolution at the end of which 15 states gained independence. Initially I was sorry about it and thought that maybe we should have gone through an interim phase of five to seven years of trial separation rather than sudden divorce. Everything happened too fast.

[Lev] How do you take stock of 70 years of communism?

[Shevardnadze] This generation cannot answer that question. Nature has its own designs, and communism may have been necessary as part of that master plan. Perhaps fascism needed a counterweight, such as the Soviet totalitarian state, but there is no doubt that it was a tragedy for the people. Millions, tens of millions, lost their lives. Furthermore, communism caused a lot of trouble throughout the world. We need more time, however, to take in-depth stock. We must now think of how we live today and tomorrow, how we build the future so that no country will live under a dictatorship.

Parliament Disgruntled Over Alleged Concessions to Russia

MK1704113493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Apr 93 p 3

[Guga Lolishvili report: "Parliament Discusses Results of Sochi Talks. Lull Ends in Abkhazia"]

[Excerpt] The Georgian parliament has heard a report by Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua, who headed the Georgian Government delegation at the talks with Russia in Sochi. Sigua was literally attacked by the radicals, in whose view these negotiations have become a pure formality and have not given Georgia anything.

What caused the most serious dissatisfaction was a provision stating that the two sides pledged to cease fire and halt any operations, including the construction of military facilities, in the conflict area. A number of deputies called this a substantial encroachment upon the rights of Georgia, which would thus lose the right to construct military facilities on its own territory—moreover, in the area of hostilities where there are no corresponding guarantees on the part of the Abkhaz side, which did not attend the Sochi talks.

Many parliamentarians also expressed their disenchantment with the unresolved problems with regard to the status and the time period of the Russian troops' stay in Georgia. Irakliy Tsereteli, leader of the Georgian National Independence Party, accused the government of a lack of willingness to take a tougher stance regarding the withdrawal of the "occupation troops from the territory of the country."

Countering so scathing a criticism, Sigua said that the main result of the Sochi talks was the fact reported by the foreign mass media that the chief of the Russian delegation, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, effectively conceded that Russia is fighting in Abkhazia against Georgia. According to the prime minister, when the negotiations dwelled on the cease-fire question, Grachev said that the Russian side would resolve on its own the problem of a cease- fire on the part of the Russian troops in the conflict area, which, in the prime minister's view, proves that Moscow controls the situation there. "At the negotiations Russia has for the first time acknowledged that it is at war with Georgia," Sigua said.

Deputy Tedo Patashvili said that the strength of the two arguments advanced by those who favor the continuing presence of the Russian troops in Georgia—the protection of the republic's borders and its airspace—has greatly diminished because the Russian air defense army stationed in Georgia has been disbanded and is being withdrawn from Georgia, although it was the presence of the Russian air defense units that was considered the most crucial reason for the Russian military presence in this country. [passage omitted]

Security Council Meets To Discuss Abkhazian Situation

LD1704191193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1524 GMT 17 Apr 93

[By a GEORGIAN NEWS AGENCY correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi April 17 TASS—The Georgian National Security and Defence Council met under the chairmanship of the head of state Eduard Shevardnadze to examine the current military situation that formed in Abkhazia and its capital in recent days.

The development of events showed that "Russian-Georgian talks in Sochi were from the very outset a new fiction for Abkhazian separatists who use the accords reached at the talks to step up their aggressive actions," says a report by the GEORGIAN NEWS AGENCY released today.

Speakers at the council meeting reported that from the point of view of defence, the situation in Sukhumi is stable, necessary additional measures are being taken to reinforce and defend military positions, a plan of actions was developed and specified.

The council entitled the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers to ensure normal life in Sukhumi, including to carry out a host of measures to supply the city with food.

Moscow April 17 ITAR-TASS—Reports are being spread by Georgian news organisations lately about the alleged breaches of accords reached at the meeting of the Russian and Georgian governmental delegations, says a statement by the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet Presidium released by this republic's parliamentary press centre today.

Facts show that "these reports are aimed at misinforming the public and serve as a cover-up for the Georgian leaders' true intentions," the report points out.

The meeting of the Russian and Georgian delegations, which took place in the absence of Abkhazia's representatives, "could not and is known not to have resulted in the conclusion of any agreements on a peace settlement," the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet Presidium believes. Remaining to be committed to solving the problem by political methods, the Abkhazian leaders treat with understanding all steps that are being taken in this direction.

Chikvaydze Meets PRC Envoy, Views Shevardnadze's 2-4 Jun Visit

LD1704111193 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaydze today, 16 April, received Wang Fengxiang, PRC ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Georgia. During their conversation, the ambassador said the Chinese Government wholly supports the territorial integrity and inviolability of Georgia's borders.

Mr. Wang Fengxiang noted that China attaches special importance to the forthcoming visit to China by Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze, which is scheduled for 2-4 June this year. In this connection, the two sides discussed the main questions of the forthcoming visit, during which a number of important agreements will be signed.

S. Ossetian Leadership Denies 'Aggressive Intentions'

MK1504104093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Apr 93 p 3

[NEGA report: "In Expectation of Pullout of Peacekeeping Forces. Tskhinvali Not Hoarding Weapons"]

[Text] The Republic of South Ossetia did not and does not have any aggressive intentions against the Republic of Georgia or anybody else—this was stated at the South Ossetia Supreme Soviet following reports by the Georgian mass media that the South Ossetian Government has bought a large quantity of arms, including heavy arms (the purchases of weaponry were linked with the upcoming withdrawal of the peacekeeping forces from the conflict zone). South Ossetia, the statement says, has long been under a total economic and financial blockade by Georgia, and it has simply no money to buy any arms, let alone in such numbers as being reported by the Georgian news agencies.

As for the possibility of Georgian refugees returning to the villages near Tskhinvali and to the city itself, Alan Chochiyev, first deputy chairman of the South Ossetia Supreme Soviet, said that the problem of the return of refugees of any nationality is a comprehensive one and it cannot be resolved unilaterally, as the Georgian authorities are demanding. Any attempt to return the refugees to places of their permanent residence can lead to yet greater bloodshed than before. This process cannot be controlled without preliminary talks, on which the South Ossetian leadership is constantly insisting but which have not so far gotten under way. Tskhinvali believes that the question of the refugees' return should be discussed as a package together with the questions about the political status of the South Ossetian Republic and about the status of the peacekeeping forces in the Georgian-Ossetian conflict region.

Estonia

Russian Television Broadcasts To Cease

LD1904192793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Estonian residents will soon be deprived of Russian television. Vladimir Velman, our correspondent, reports from Tallinn:

[Velman] A relevant decision has been adopted by the republican government since a contract on payments for television broadcasts has been signed only with the Ostankino television company. These broadcasts will cost Ostankino 7.2 million kroons this year; multiply by about 60 to get the ruble amount. I do not know whether Russian television has tried to look for possibilities of paying for relay of its programs to former Soviet republics, but as a result Estonia will be cut off from Russian television in a few months. Attempts at setting up a special fund made up of donations by Estonian residents, a fund which could become a financial partner of the republican departments dealing with telecommunications, have failed. Republican residents showed little enthusiasm, and the money collected this way was clearly not enough for such a large project.

The St. Petersburg channel is being eliminated at the same time, and Ostankino is soon to become the only television link with Russia. About a dozen private firms are bidding for the television channels that are becoming vacant. After leasing them, they will hardly be able to provide republican viewers with quality products. Naturally, there will be Estonian national television, which carries 15-minute Russian-language newscasts five times a week and a two-hour Russian video channel once a week on Saturdays.

Iranian Ambassador Presents Credentials

WS1604121793 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1547 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Tallinn, April 15—Iran's ambassador to Estonia, Seyyed 'Ali Mahmoudi, presented his credentials to President Lennart Meri on Thursday.

The ambassador also met Estonia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Trivimi Velliste, the Foreign Ministry's press office informed ETA.

Answering Velliste's questions about the rise of Islam in the former Soviet and Central Asian republics, Mahmoudi said that Islam had always been the countries' historical ideology that had been suppressed by the Soviet power. Iran expects to develop good neighbourly relations with the former Central Asian republics like they were centuries ago at the times of the "silk road".

Velliste informed Mahmoudi of Estonian-Russian negotiations, troop pullout and Estonia's Citizenship Law and said that instability in Russia might proceed for some time.

Estonia's relations with Iran date back to 1931 when Estonia and Persia concluded a friendship agreement.

Latvia

Foreign Minister Urges Action To End Bosnia Fighting

LD1604194593 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1701 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Latvia Foreign Affairs Minister Andrejevs officially stated today that the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs categorically condemns any violations of human rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina and called on all the sides involved in the conflict, international organizations, and state leaders for immediate constructive and decisive action in order to stop the military conflict and to eliminate its consequences in accordance with generally accepted international and human rights standards. Latvia joins the request for leaders of the Bosnian Serbs to immediately sign documents of the Vance-Owen plan calling for a settlement of the situation.

In the case of noncompliance with such a request the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs calls for imposition of all necessary sanctions and implementing all necessary measures, including the coordinated use of military force, in order to secure the fulfillment of the Vance-Owen peace plan and to prevent the conflict from spreading to Croatia, Macedonia, and Kosovo.

Foreign Minister Discusses Policy Goals

LD1904162793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1458 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Latvia's foreign policy aims "to strengthen the fragile independence which we have restored, but not established, as many Western publications claim." Latvian Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs said in an interview with "DIPLOMATICHESKII KURYER", a new ITAR-TASS bulletin.

"Latvia is too small to have any hostile feelings towards any other country. I think that nobody can be afraid of Latvia, even for example, small Estonia which we could occupy with a good effort, if we wanted to," he added.

Apart from the problems which are characteristic of the majority of former socialist countries, he commented, Latvia has its own difficulties which push aside many promising tasks in cooperation. "I mean, above all, problems connected with the stationing of the Russian Army in Latvia," Andrejevs said.

According to the minister there are two groups of people in Latvia: Supporters of genuine independence and opponents. "The presence of the Russian Army upsets some people, perhaps makes others aggressive. There are groups of extremists in both categories of people. Some are tired of looking at soldiers in foreign uniform. Those who see the Russian Army as a defender of their interests

are easier to incite to aggression: Wait, in the presence of the Army we will gain our lost privileges. These polarised groups of citizens are becoming more and more exasperated, aggressively inclined towards one another. And if the Russian Army leaves Latvia, one section of society will let off steam and the other will lose the desire to blame everyone."

In the minister's opinion, this issue has an economic aspect as "the presence of the Army is impeding Western investors from investing capital."

Russian Side Submits Baltic Fleet Withdrawal Schedule

LD1504222293 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] The Russian side has submitted to Latvia a schedule for the withdrawal of Baltic Fleet units. According to the schedule, the last Russian seamen will leave the republic at the end of 1994. This was reported to DIENA by Ilgonis Upmalis, head of the Bureau for the Control of the Russian Army Withdrawal from Latvia.

In turn, the Command of the North-Western Group of Forces has submitted to the Latvian delegation a list of places allotted for construction of housing for servicemen withdrawn from the Baltics.

The press center of the North-Western Group of Forces has reported that 40 percent of the Russian troops have been withdrawn from Latvia as of 15 April.

Military units of the Russian army have left 160 facilities out of 800 of their facilities located on Latvian territory. This was reported to the BNS news agency at the Bureau for the Control of the Russian Army Withdrawal from Latvia. Of these, 120 were handed over to Latvian authorities, 16 to commercial structures, and the rest simply left. The Latvian defense ministry took over 30 facilities and introduced a proposal to take over and additional 45 more.

Lithuania

Brazauskas Returns From UK Visit, Holds News Conference

LD1604165293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas has ended his visit to Great Britain and has already returned to Vilnius.

In a brief news conference at the end of his first official visit to Great Britain, Algirdas Brazauskas said that Prime Minister John Major has promised to increase technical aid to Lithuania. Algirdas Brazauskas said that he gave a guarantee to Major that his government will continue the program of the previous Lithuanian leadership. I never said that the reforms would be slowed down, the president said. But, he added, it is not easy rapidly to implement some reforms.

At the news conference in London the president described the Lithuanian Democratic Party as social democratic and stated that the parliament which was elected last year will be responsible for the management and control of the reforms. It is imperative to reform not only industry but also other important branches, agriculture, and government institutions, the president pointed out.

Algirdas Brazauskas met with the British ministers of agriculture and energy, business leaders, MP's, and representatives of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. He did not supply any details about any new British promises of assistance or credits.

According to him, the purpose of the visit was to look for possibilities regarding credits and financial aid, and also to strengthen the political and economic relations between the two countries.

The president stressed that the withdrawal of the Russian Army is taking place according to schedule. "If there are no dramatic changes in Russia, I do not see any reason why the Russian Army should not leave by the end of August," he said.

Algirdas Brazauskas also rejected the proposal by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to set up a human rights commission for the Baltic region. There is no need to set up such commission, Brazauskas said at the news conference in London.

Defense Minister Views Meeting with Russia's Grachev

LD1904113293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Excerpts] News conferences at the Seimas have been in progress since 1000 this morning and the last one has just concluded, so I decided to start my report with it. Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius met with journalists and reported on his 16 April meeting with Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev. This is how Audrius Butkevicius briefly described the objectives and the content of his visit.

[Begin Butkevicius recording] As you know, the main objective is to organize an efficient withdrawal of the Russian troops according to schedule. The fact that we are also interested in this means that we should not only sit back and watch the Russian troops withdrawing, but should also participate in this matter by taking a number of preparatory [words indistinct]. The coordination of actions was discussed during my meting in Moscow.

More specifically, I can say the following: In connection with the Russian troop withdrawal we discussed their use of the port of Klaipeda and of airspace. We also discussed problems concerning the use of railways and the return of the railway carriages; the handing over of

military enterprises and problems related to the division of property, including such questions as what is real estate and what is simply property. [passage omitted]

Four groups have been set up which will leave for Moscow tomorrow to coordinate all these problems, which will then be presented both to the Lithuanian and Russian Governments. In general, this is all there is to say about the technicalities of the troop withdrawal. [end recording]

Audrius Butkevicius said he has invited the Russian defense minister to visit Lithuania; the date has been established—the middle of May. No treaties will be signed; the same issues concerning the technical matters of the troop withdrawal will be discussed.

Denies Plans for Military Union

LD1904180293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1645 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius April 19 TASS—"My negotiations with Russian Defence Minister General Pavel Grachev, which were held in Moscow last Friday [16 April], took place in an atmosphere of business-like cooperation and goodwill, and there was no pressure of any kind exerted on our delegation from his side," Defence Minister of Lithuania Andrius Butkevecius said at a briefing held in the Seimas (parliament) here today.

The head of the defence department of the republic said that technical questions and details connected with the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Lithuanian territory by August 31, 1993 were discussed at the meeting.

The minister clarified that a "timely withdrawal of units of the former Soviet Army from Lithuania is matter which concerns all people, and this was confirmed at the referendum held last year. But I do not wish this question to become an object of inter-party intrigues in the republic."

Butkevecius categorically rejected the opinion that "Russia is trying to draw Lithuania into a sort of military union with it," and said that he has invited the Russian defence minister on an official visit to the republic in the middle of May.

Government Issues Statement on Economic Decline

LD1604032593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] The Lithuanian Government has released a statement on the country's economic and social situation which, as the statement (?suggests), is by far worse than that in Latvia and Estonia. The statement says that the gross national product diminished by half during the past three years. Within the same period of time, industrial output dropped by 55 percent, agricultural produce by 39 percent, while construction work slowed down by 88 percent.

According to the amounts of some manufactured products per head of population, Lithuania has gone back to the industrial level of the seventies. According to the statement, the most difficult situation has emerged in agriculture, which was created by deficient agricultural reforms. During the past three years, the greater part of cattle, pigs, and poultry were slaughtered. This year Lithuanian farmers sold the same amount of agricultural produce to the state as at the beginning of the eighties, while the amount of state purchase flax sank to level of the (?fifties). Lithuania, which has always been a meat-exporting country is now forced to import meat herself in spite of the fact that the level of food consumption dropped consideraly over the past few years.

The number of families with hand-to-mouth earnings has catastrophically increased. At the end of last year, 50 percent of households did not earn enough to cover their basic expenditure. In February of this year, the average monthly wage amounted to U.S. $28. Those working in agriculture, education and health care earned approximately $8 to $16 per month. The (?median) retirement pension was $7, while the minimum consumers basket amounted to $8.

In this statement the government does not promise to make a quick improvement in the living conditions of the Lithuanian people, but it will take concrete and consistent measures to stabilize the economic situation. The government also calls on all political and public organizations not to make use of existing hardships for the escalation of social tension.

Democratic Labor Party Holds Congress in Vilnius

Brazauskas Speaks

LD1704160993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] The Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDLP] congress is taking place in Vilnius. It is being attended by some 550 delegates representing approximately 15,000 party members and supporters. At present this is the largest political organization in Lithuania. Last year it won the elections to the Lithuanian Seimas, where it has 76 seats from the total of 141.

At that time the LDLP was led by Algirdas Brazauskas. Last February Algirdas Brazauskas, after his election to the post of the Lithuanian president, suspended his activity in the party. Today, the first to speak at the congress was former party chairman Algirdas Brazauskas. He spoke for around 20 minutes. The president said he has no constitutional right to support any political force. He urged all people in Lithuania to work harmoniously for the benefit of Lithuania.

The congress is to amend the party program and adopt a new statute. The party leadership and its collective bodies will be elected. The congress is being attended by guests from abroad—representatives of the Danish, Latvian, Russian, Finnish, Hungarian, and German left-wing and social democratic parties.

Slezevicius Elected Chairman

LD1704215893 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] A total of 540 delegates arrived for the third congress of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDLP] today. Representatives from the social democratic and left-wing parties from Hungary, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, and Russia also arrived as guests to the congress. Here is Dora Petkauskaite from the Palace of Culture of the Ministry of Internal Affairs with a report:

[Petkauskaite] One of the most important objectives of the congress could be described by the words of Justinas Karosas, chairman of the Seimas LDLP faction: We must clarify what directions of our activity will implement the will of our voters. One would not be comfortable if the congress turned out to be the congress of the winners, because even though there was a victory gained at the latest elections, this is the gain of all of society and democracy and not the LDLP alone, Justinas Karosas said.

In the afternoon session the new party statute was confirmed unanimously without much discussion. The proceedings for the election of the chairman of the council, its members, and the financial commission were discussed. Before announcing the start of a secret ballot, Gediminas Kirkilas, acting chairman of the LDLP Council, was invited to the rostrum.

[Begin Kirkilas recording] We propose to elect Adolfas Slezevicius, prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania, to the post of chairman of the LDLP. [Words indistinct] [applause] [end recording]

[Petkauskaite] After the applause a remark was heard from the hall aking why there was only candidate, and then it was proposed to include the name of Justinas Karosas beside the name of Adolfas Slezevicius. However, Justinas Karosas did not support this idea. He said: I am sorry I am not Aloizas Sakalas. Probably because this reply caused laughter in the hall, one more name for the post of party leader was heard: that of Povilas Gylys. However, without changing the tone he also said that there would be too many comparisons with [words indistinct].

Gediminas Kirkilas also expressed his gratitude for the nomination to the post, leaving the path for Adolfas Slezevicius.

Therefore, late in the afternoon, unanimously or not, it is not yet clear, the delegates of the congress elected the new chairman of the party. And now here is an interview with Gediminas Kirkilas:

[Begin recording] [Petkauskaite] What changes will this congress introduce in the work of the party?

[Kirkilas] Our program will be renewed by this congress. This has already been mentioned by the speakers earlier on and they also mentioned in which directions...[pauses] And also we will adopt directions for our short-term action program. This will be, practically speaking, our activity for this year, how our Presidium and the party Council, the party city and rayon councils will operate.

[Petkauskaite] You mentioned the party program documents. Could you briefly say what new has been introduced by the latest documents in the life of the party?

[Kirkilas] They do not change our essential orientation, the social democratic orientation. However, there are matters in the program which have become obsolete, and those which had already been implemented. The objectives of the party in the Seimas and the presidential elections have been achieved. Therefore, some matters should be perfected. There is an attempt to improve the possibility for the solution of the economic problems and to [word indistinct] certain possibilities, although I have already mentioned in my report that although we are a party of social democratic orientation, on the other hand we must act as, say, liberals or social liberals, because the reforms have to be carried out. [passage indistinct] and to make the process of reforms easier. [words indistinct] [end recording]

Leaders Hold News Conference

LD1804150593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 18 Apr 93

[Text] The congress of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDLP] was concluded late yesterday afternoon. The main points of the party's policies were presented at a news conference held this morning by the newly elected leadership of the party. Here is correspondent Dora Petkauskaite reporting:

[Petkauskaite] Yesterday, after the third congress was concluded, the new leadership of the LDLP invited journalists to a news conference. The conference was attended by Adolfas Slezevicius, chairman of the LDLP, who obtained the vote of 481 delegates while 35 voted against. Gediminas Kirkilas, first deputy chairman of the party, and Justinas Karosas, deputy chairman, also took part in the news conference.

Opening the news conference Gediminas Kirkilas stressed the significant new recruitment, about 50 percent, to the party's leadership—i.e. the council and the presidium of the council. Out of five deputy chairmen of the council two are new—Sigita Burbiene and Vladimiras Beriozovas. Apart from Gediminas Kirkilas

and Justinas Karosas, whom I have already mentioned, [name indistinct] Gerzonas was also elected deputy chairman.

Adolfas Slezevicius in his brief introductory speech repeated an idea which has been voiced more than once before, that once the party wins the elections and forms the government then this government has to take responsibility for the implementation of the party's program. The main principle of the formation of the cabinet of ministers and other state bodies will not change now that the prime minister has become the leader of the party. People will be assessed according to their competence and not according to their political beliefs.

Speaking about the expected changes after the party congress Adolfas Slezevicius promised to bring more stability into the declining economy, to proceed further with the creation of a market economy and to accelerate the process of privatization. However, some corrections will have to be introduced into all this, because, for example, at the moment the total amount of the investment checks exceeds the volume of property under privatization by 18 billion [as heard]. Apart from this the current privatization does not ensure that a buyer will always be found. Therefore, measures will have to be prepared to ensure the concentration of capital.

These statements made by Adolfas Slezevicius were taken by the journalists as a stance of a right-wing party. In response to this Gediminas Kirkilas said that it is one thing to be a classical social democratic party in Hungary or Norway, but quite a different matter in this country, where the poor economic situation cannot be ignored. Speaking on the issue as to how social democracy and liberalism can be combined, Justinas Karosas said that the state carrying out the economic reforms must not ignore the obligation to take care of people's lives.

Speaking about future prospects and the strategic objectives of the party Gediminas Kirkilas spoke very laconically: We must work in such a way as to win the next elections too.

The journalists saw a certain ambiguity in the present position of Adolfas Slezevicius and asked whether the authority of the prime minister would determine the activity of the party or whether the position of the party would influence the prime minister. According to Adolfas Slezevicus the decision to coordinate these duties makes the coordination of activities easier. The party needs an instrument for the implementation of its policy; on the other hand, at the moment there is a good mechanism for the laws needed by the government to be discussed by the Seimas as a matter of urgency.

After the news conference the guests to the LDLP congress also met with the journalists. A roundtable discussion of the representatives from the LDLP and the kindred parties of social democratic orientation started at midday.

Opposition Says Government Threatens Democracy

WS1604121993 Tallinn BNS in English 1055 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Vilnius, Apr 16, BNS—Opposition forces charged the government with making "a step is made back to communist totalitarianism."

In a statement circulated Thursday [15 April], the opposition cited the closure of a private TV station and the withdrawal of three rightist deputy mandates as actual threats to democracy.

In addition, the statement says, living standards in Lithuania have dropped three times in the last six months. "This is unprecedented in the time of peace," it says, "but possible when the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDLP] is in power."

The LDLP is stopping the economic reform and is changing the previous social-economic policy with "its incompetent and spontaneous decisions," says the statement.

The statement comes, in part, as a response to a Chief Election Commission's [CEC] decision to remove three deputy mandates from opposition deputies. A court ruled earlier this year that the mandates were achieved through improper actions by the former CEC. The mandates will be passed to LDLP representatives.

The opposition aired its statement after stalling parliament for an hour and missing the opening of Thursday's session.

The opposition factions stated they will not reconcile to "the selfish and destructive" policy of the LDLP and warned that "the vital interests of Lithuanian people, their constitutional rights and democracy are being threatened."

German Environment Ministry Delegation Visits

LD1504133693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] A delegation of the German Ministry of Enviroment, Nature Protection, and Reactor Safety is on a visit to Lithuania. Today, German Federal Environment Minister Klaus Toepfer met with Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius. In the afternoon Gernan experts will visit the Ignalina nuclear power station.

Minister on Nuclear Safety

LD1604113193 Hamburg DPA in German 0906 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Vilnius (DPA)—Environment Minister Klaus Toepfer has called for international action to improve safety standards at the Lithuanian nuclear power station at Ignalina, which recently became a talking point due to further technical defects. Toepfer, who visited the power

station yesterday, told German journalists in Vilnius today that he would be a charlatan if he were to say anything about the safety standards of the nuclear power station on the basis of that visit. A thorough investigation and analysis, as currently undertaken by an IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] commission, is needed for this.

In a talk prior to visiting the actual reactor, Viktor Shevaldin, director general of the nuclear power station, handed Toepfer a letter with a lengthy list of requests. Toepfer said later that they concerned both individual improvements such as the provision of paint that meets a certain safety standard, as well as leak detectors, which are not present in the Lithuanian plant, and especially improved storage for spent fuel elements. Shevaldin said the fuel storage pools in which fuel elements had been stored until now were almost full so other storage possibilities had to be examined. He said an agreement is to be concluded with a Swedish firm in the summer that will make available containers for so-called dry storage.

Toepfer, who earlier visited the two Baltic states of Estonia and Latvia, said the focus of his talks in Lithuania had been the safety standards of this nuclear power station, which is an improved Chernobyl type, and which in his view needs more improvements in order to remain in existence for a certain period. The Lithuanian side made it clear that apart from using Ignalina for its own electricity supplies, 40 percent of the capacity is used for electricity exports, particularly to supply electricity to the Russian region of Kaliningrad.

German-Lithuanian Environmental Agreement Signed

Germany and Lithuania want to work more closely together in the future in environmental protection. A relevant agreement was signed today by Environment Minister Klaus Toepfer and his Lithuanian counterpart Evalda Vebra in Vilnius. They are to cooperate in the technical and legal sphere in the future. Bonn will also help with the technical maintenance of the Lithuanian nuclear power station at Ignalina.

Ignalina Nuclear Reactor To Close for Maintenance

LD1804141793 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Summary] The second power block of the Ignalina nuclear power station is to be shut down for scheduled routine maintenance with the consent of the state nuclear power engineering safety inspectorate.

According to Viktor Shevaldin, director general of the power station, the first reactor will remain in operation until the end of June, working with a capacity of 1,950 megawatts. This will be sufficient to satisfy the needs of consumers in Lithuania.

Diplomatic Relations Established with Thailand

LD1604230693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Lithuania and Thailand have established diplomatic relations and the foreign ministers of the two states exchanged notes to this effect.

The Kingdom of Thailand is the 77th state of the world with which Lithuania has established or renewed diplomatic relations.